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PROTEST AGAINST THE PROPOSED INTRODUCTION OF SLAVE-GROWN SUGARS INTO THE BRITISH MARKETS.

A crisis has arisen in the history of the Anti-slavery cause of so grave a nature as to require the instant attention, and the prompt and vigorous action of every friend of liberty and humanity throughout the United Kingdom.

It is understood that the first great measure which the new Government intend to submit to the consideration of Parliament will have for its object the introduction of slave-grown sugars into the British markets. The grounds on which this step is attempted to be justified, are those of political expediency and commercial advantage. It is intended thereby to augment the quantity of sugar for home consumption, to increase the revenue from the duties leviable thereon, and to complete the series of free-trade measures which have already received the sanction of the Legislature and of the Crown.

These grounds would be perfectly legitimate did not the plan contemplated by Government injuriously affect the rights of millions of mankind; and involve the violation of those high moral considerations which should always influence the conduct of Governments and Legislatures as well as that of individuals.

That the measure proposed by Government will have the effect of strengthening the system of slavery, of stimulating the slave-trade, and of adding to the horrors of both, admits of no doubt with most, if not all, who have maturely studied the question. And it is because, in the deliberate judgment of the undersigned, that the proposed measure would lead to these dreadful results that they enter their solemn protest against it; and call most urgently on the friends of the Anti-slavery cause, in every part of the country, to follow their example.

First:—With respect to slavery.—It is assumed by those who advocate the proposed measure for the equalization of the duties on foreign sugars, without regard to origin or country, that from 70,000 to 80,000 tons of slave-grown sugars will be annually required to meet the increased demand in the British markets. These sugars will come principally from the Spanish West India colonies and Brazil, where, it is notorious, slavery assumes its most degrading and terrific forms. Of the slaves employed in the cultivation of the sugars in Cuba, one-tenth perish annually, and the whole are killed off in ten years. In Brazil the mortality on the sugar estates is admitted to be five per cent. per annum, in some cases more, which would destroy the population in twenty years. Now this takes place under the present demand for sugar. But with the increased demand contemplated by the new arrangement of the sugar duties, that murderous mortality will be fearfully increased, or new slaves must be imported to meet the exigency. At present neither the Brazilian nor the Cuban planters possess more labourers than they require. They have no unemployed slaves, no hands in want of work, no superabundance of population. On the contrary, all hands are now worked to excess. It follows, therefore, that the very same people who are thus murdered by wholesale to make the quantity of sugar now exported from Cuba and Brazil will have to make more—that is to say, they must be forced by the lash to a new excess of labour, at which they will be more wretched while they live, and under which they will more rapidly die. Where the labourer is free, every augmentation in the demand for the produce of his toil increases his means of subsistence and comfort; where the labourer is a slave it as certainly diminishes them, and destroys him.

That slavery will be strengthened must be obvious from the fact that additional capital will be directly employed in sustaining it,

and thereby rendering it more profitable than it is at present. A great mercantile House at the Havana whose authority is quoted in the last slave-trade papers, states that whilst "they had no expectation of the price of sugar being improved, except by having the English market open to the produce of the island," they were convinced that "if this could be effected even at a rate of 50 per cent. above the duty—on English colonial sugar, still they could obtain for their produce double the amount they can obtain at present." If such be the fact, who can reflect on the consequences without a shudder?

Secondly:—With respect to the slave trade.—No one can believe for a moment that the Brazilian and Cuban planters will let their stock of slaves diminish. To fill up the gaps created by the vast mortality which is incessantly going on among them, they have recourse to the African slave-trade. By this horrid means they recruit and increase their gangs; and, beyond all doubt, this traffic will be pursued with greater desperation and atrocity in proportion to the growing urgency of the demand and the eagerness of planters to purchase. At present, the enormous profits derived from the contraband slave-trade present an irresistible stimulus to the traffickers in men; but it will receive an additional and enormous stimulus should the proposed measure take effect. Under existing circumstances the slave-trade cannot be put down; under the additional incentive, it must be not only perpetuated, but increased. If more sugar is to be made in Cuba and Brazil, there must be more hands to make it; and these hands must be fetched by slavers from desolated and bleeding Africa. On the supposition that these countries will supply 50,000 tons of the assumed quantity of sugar, 50,000 new slaves at least must be obtained to prepare it for exportation; and to meet the wastes of mortality that will be occasioned by the severity of the system under which they are placed, a large additional number of Africans must be imported, to join that host of human beings who are every year torn from their native homes by the slave-traders, and compelled to surrender up their liberty to the tyrant task masters of Brazil and Cuba.

The proposed measure will, in the opinion of the undersigned, as certainly, and almost as directly increase the slave-trade as if this country had given a premium for every kidnapped negro forced on board the slavers, and carried from Africa through the unutterable horrors of the middle passage, to interminable bondage.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the accumulated horrors of slavery and the slave-trade. They are too well known, and too sorely lamented by the friends of humanity to need specification. Yet it should be remembered that the slave populations of the Spanish colonies and Brazil, are innocent men, women, and children, who have been despoiled of their most precious rights, and subjected to the most atrocious discipline, to satiate, if it were possible, the spirit of Mammon. It should be recollected also that the murderous system of slavery prevalent in Cuba and Brazil, is preceded by one still more terrible in Africa and during the middle passage. It may be asserted that for every African slave landed in these countries, two perish in the original capture, and during the subsequent stages of the infernal traffic. And, further, it should be borne in mind that the greater portion of the slaves in Cuba and Brazil are entitled to freedom by virtue of the treaties of those countries with Great Britain, and are only debarred from the enjoyment of liberty by the disgraceful violation of solemn compact. But instead of demanding their liberty, a splendid bribe is about to be offered in order that commercial intercourse may be facilitated with people whose crimes against humanity merit the execration of all men, and cry aloud for the vengeance of Heaven.

But besides the increased sacrifice of human life, and the augmen-

tation of crime and suffering which will, undoubtedly, be the fruits of this measure, the undersigned contemplate, with the deepest sorrow, its destructive effects upon all that is done, and is doing, for the civilization of Africa. The noble efforts which have been made, and are making, for the introduction of Christianity into that continent, will be paralyzed by the increased impetus given to the slave-trade. The enlightenment of men, and the spread of the gospel, cannot co-exist where the crimes of the slave-trade are perpetrated and fostered.

It is the chief glory of this country, that in the exercise of a high and noble policy, it has, through its legislature, declared the slave-trade to be piracy and felony; and the system of slavery to be inherently and essentially unjust. It has, moreover, sanctioned a vast outlay of the national treasure in the attempt to suppress the former, and for the abolition of the latter. To promote, then, their extension in foreign countries, either directly or indirectly, or to countenance such enormous crimes, or to seek to increase the revenue from sources so polluted, will be flagrantly inconsistent with its own solemn decisions embodied in acts of Parliament.

In 1840, a measure similar in principle to that under review was proposed to Parliament. Then the Government gave it a decided negative. The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Labouchere), said:—"No one could entertain a doubt, (in the event of the motion being carried), that the great mass of foreign sugar imported into this country would be from the Brazils. In Brazils no sugar was produced, except by slave-labour. He felt it to be a painful duty to oppose the motion, but the question he had to ask himself was this, whether he would consent to give such a stimulus to slave-labour in the Brazils as would be produced by throwing open the market of this country to the reception of their sugar. He was not able to make up his mind, that this was a course which he ought to recommend to the house. He did not believe that it would be agreeable to their constituents, WHEN THEY UNDERSTOOD THE FACTS OF THE CASE." He would not be a party to a measure which, he added "would inundate the British market with sugar the produce of slave-labour." The introduction of slave-grown sugar, opposed by such reasons, was at that time successfully resisted by those who now propose to introduce it.

In seeking the exclusion of slave-grown sugars from the British market, the friends of the anti-slavery cause design to uphold no monopoly, to strengthen no class interests, to promote no sordid or selfish views, much less any party purpose; but their aim is to lessen the sum of human misery and degradation, and to advance the sacred cause of freedom throughout the world.

Thomas Clarkson, Playford-hall	Benjamin Teebohn	Bradford
Stephen Lushington, London	Alfred Harris	"
Edward N. Buxton "	John Crofts	"
George Stephen "	Thomas Beaumont	"
Samuel Gurney "	Richard Peek	Kingsbridge
George Stacey "	William Cross	Colchester
George W. Alexander "	Thomas Catchpool	"
Joseph Cooper "	Samuel Carr	"
John H. Hinton "	James Haughton	Dublin
John Scoble "	Henry Russell	"
Jabez Bunting, D.D. "	Samuel Capper	Bristol
Robert Monro "	Joseph Eaton	"
Henry Sterry "	Matthew Forster	Newcastle
James Carlile, D.D. "	James Finlay	"
Edmund Pace "	William Beaumont	"
Jacob Post "	George Richardson	"
Gurney Barclay "	Henry Richardson	"
Samuel Gurney, jun. "	Joseph Ogilvie	North Shields
Samuel Sturge "	F. A. Calder	Belfast
Lewis F. Bellot "	Maxn. Sanders	"
Josiah Forster, Tottenham	Jas. Stanfield	"
Robert Forster "	T. Cunningham, M.A.	Lowestoft
Samuel Fox "	Anthony Wigham	Aberdeen
William Ball "	David Macallan	"
Joseph Sturge, Birmingham	Alexr. Jesup	Woodbridge
Richard T. Cadbury, "	Philip Thompson	"
John Dunlop, Edinburgh	Henry Taylor	"
Edward Cruickshank "	John Beaumont	Ufford
R. K. Greville "	John Brown,	Clevering
Robert Forster, Leeds	Edward Palk	Southampton
Thomas Forster, "	Joseph Clark	"
W. B. Forster, Leeds	A. Mordaunt	"
Joseph Forster, Norwich	George Laishley	"

William Forster	"	Edward P. Smith	Southampton
Joseph Geldart	"	H. S. Rice	"
Frederick Mackie	"	James Clark	"
Charles Horsnail	"	John Rice	"
William D. Crewdson, Kendal	"	F. Russell, A.M.	"
Isaac Braithwaite	"	James Thos. Davies	"
Joseph Fergusson, Carlisle	"	William Sims	"
G. H. Head	"	C. S. Fanshawe, M.A.	"
Joseph T. Price, Neath Abbey	"	Joseph Hingstone	Dodbrooke
Samuel Bowly, Gloucester	"	Richard Laney, A.M.	"
E. O. Tregelles	Falmouth	John Nicholson	"
John Budge	Camborne	Wm. Spencer	Devonport
R. Wardlaw, D.D.	Glasgow	J. H. Johnston	Tilshead
William Smeal	"	John Dymond	Exeter
John Murray	"	William Lee	"
W. T. Blair	Bath	Edward Hemming	"
James Bardinel, M.A.	Ipswich	Thomas Hartley	"
Alfred Harris	Bradford	John Candler	York
John Crofts	"	Edward Brewin	Worcester
Thomas Beaumont	"	John Woodwork	Upton
John Allen	Liskeard	Robert Alsop	Chelsea
		&c.	&c.
		&c.	&c.

NOTE.—Lord Brougham having been requested to put his name at the head of these Signatures, refused to place it before that of his honoured fellow-labourer in the Anti-slavery Cause for forty-four years—Thomas Clarkson,—and, although approving of the Protest, declined signing it after him, because of his intention to protest against the proposed measure in the House of Lords.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

From the slave-trade papers recently presented to both Houses of Parliament, we make the following extracts, to show the activity and extent of the slave-trade for 1844, the period to which the reports of the slave-trade commissioners extend.

SIERRA LEONE.

Her Majesty's Commissioners to the Earl of Aberdeen.—The number of vessels adjudicated was 27, of which 14 were prosecuted in the British and Brazilian Court, 12 in the British and Spanish Court, and one in the British and Portuguese Court. Twenty-six were cases of condemnation, and one of restoration to the claimant. Two thousand three hundred and fifty-one slaves were emancipated during the year, of whom 2327 were registered. The total number of vessels prosecuted before the Mixed Commissions since their establishment in this colony, in June, 1819, up to the present date, is 498, whereof 473 were cases of condemnation, and 25 were either withdrawn, or restored to the claimant. During the same period there have been emancipated by these courts 63,436 slaves, of whom 55,748 have been registered here. Of the vessels adjudicated during 1844, 10 had slaves on board when chased, but one unfortunately landed her cargo before capture; of these, five were Brazilians, four Spanish, and one Portuguese. The Portuguese craft had shipped her slaves at Cape Lopez, and was returning with them to St. Thomas, to which island she belonged. The Spaniards had obtained their living cargoes at the Sherbro, Ambriz, Cabinda, and Loanda, and were all bound to Havana. Four of the Brazilian vessels had embarked their slaves in the Bight of Benin, the fifth on the coast of Benguela; and they were bound respectively, one for Pernambuco, two for Bahia, one for Macahé, and one for San Francisco do Sul. The destinations on the coast of the other 17 vessels were, four for Gallinas or Sherbro, five for the Bight of Benin, one for the Bight of Biafra, one for Cape Lopez, five for Cabinda, Angola, and Benguela, and one for Quilimane, on the eastern coast; and, had they not been captured, their return voyages, so far as can be ascertained, would have been, seven for the Island of Cuba, three for Bahia, three for the neighbourhood of Rio, two for Espirito Santo, one for Campos, and one for San Francisco.

Of the whole number, 12 were captured to the north and 15 to the south of the Equator; 10 were American built, five Brazilian, two French, two Genoese, two Spanish, one Portuguese, one Swedish, and one native African; where the remaining three were constructed we have no means of ascertaining.

It will be seen, from what is stated above, that during 1844 a very considerable increase has taken place in the number of vessels adjudicated.

The return for 1843, enumerated but 13 cases, every one of which



was concerned in Brazilian slave-trade. The number, in the present report, of vessels so employed is 15, one of which was Spanish; but in addition to these, there have been 11 condemned for being engaged in supplying the markets of Cuba, and one Portuguese employed in the same traffic between St. Thomas and the main land.

From this it would seem that the Cuban slave-trade, which, under the honourable administration of General Valdez had been almost annihilated, *has been latterly revived to a very lamentable extent*, owing no doubt, in a great measure, to the protection and encouragement afforded to the slave-traders by his less scrupulous successor, General O'Donnell.

From the following list of cases adjudicated in this colony, it is apparent that the Spanish slave-trade had been gradually falling off during the three years preceding 1844, whilst that of Brazil had fluctuated.

	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844
In the several Mixed Courts—					
Spanish vessels	20	11	4	1	12
Brazilian vessels	8	10	6	11	14
Portuguese vessels	1	1	1	1	1
In the Court of Vice-Admiralty—					
Portuguese, or without any national character, 2 and 3 Vict. cap. 73	10	7	7	4	2
British and Hamburg, French and American vessels, equipped within British jurisdiction, 5 Geo. IV. cap. 114	4	..	..	..	..
Total	43	29	18	17	29

And although this abstract necessarily affords but an imperfect view of the matter, in the absence of any information respecting the proceedings of other Vice-Admiralty Courts, or of the new British and Portuguese Mixed Courts now in active operation, it is yet certain that the number of vessels engaged in Brazilian slave-trade which have been prosecuted here during 1844 *exceeds that in any previous year since this British and Brazilian Mixed Court came into operation.*

It is probable, also, that the list of Spanish vessels would have been even larger than it is, but for the temporarily depressing effect which the recent disturbances amongst the slave population of Cuba has had in creating a want of confidence on the part of the slave factors (especially the Portuguese and Brazilians) on this coast, and deterring them from making large shipments to the West Indies on speculation.

The activity of the increased squadron, and especially the addition of effective steam vessels to the British cruisers on this coast, has without doubt had a considerable effect upon the number of captures; in point of fact, more than one-half of the whole number of vessels actually detained within the year have been prizes to four of those steamers, and to three of the sloops of war removed to this station from the other side of the Atlantic. *Still, however, we believe that the slave-trade is increasing, and that it is conducted perhaps more systematically than it has ever been hitherto.*

Nearly all the formerly noted slave haunts appear to be still frequented, and notwithstanding the stringent measures adopted by the British Commodore with the powerful force under his command, there can be no question but that there has been a very large number of slaves transported both to Cuba and Brazil.

We learn that the Cape Verd Islands are still the rendezvous of slave-vessels waiting for the collection of their human freights, in the rivers to the northward of this place, or in the Sherbro or Gallinas. At Bissano the trade is still carried on, though possibly partially checked by the quarrels between the Portuguese and the natives; and we have heard of some cargoes having been lately carried off from the Pongas and its neighbourhood.

At Sherbro and Gallinas we regret to state very large numbers of slaves have been collected by the factors, and in spite of the strictest and apparently most judicious measures adopted in watching the different outlets of these places, some slavers have got clear off with their cargoes.

In the Bight of Benin, and especially at Lagos, our return shows that the traffic is largely carried on; there has been, however, only one capture in the Bight of Biafra; but the vessels taken to the southward of the Line are more than usually numerous, and on that line of coast, and especially in the neighbourhood of Benguela, extensive barracoons are reported to be maintained by the traders.

One of the captures was made on the eastern coast, where it would seem the traffic with Brazil is still pursued.

The actual export of negroes from all points of the coast appears to be now *chiefly* carried on under the flags of Brazil and Spain; there can be no question, however, that, indirectly, the flags of other nations continue to be used in aid of the traffic. In respect to that of America indeed, though possibly not employed so openly as formerly, in consequence of the more effective surveillance of the United States cruisers, still the most effectual assistance is rendered by it to the slave-dealer; not only are vessels built expressly for him at New Orleans and other American ports, but they are frequently brought to the coast, and there transferred to him, the American flag being retained until the slaves are embarked. American vessels are also now regularly chartered by some of the principal slave-dealers for a period, say two years, during which they are bound to go whithersoever they may be sent by the charterers, and to ship such freight as may be procured for them; the only stipulation being, that they are not to be required to take any cargo which will subject them to seizure. In this way goods of all descriptions suitable for the traffic are taken direct to the slave-factories from the places of manufacture, and also staves, hoops, deals, and other articles necessary for slave equipment, but which may be safely carried by American vessels under the name of "lumber."

The houses of Pedro Blanco, and of Zulueta and Co., are reported to employ American vessels in this manner; but French, Tuscan, and other European bottoms are also concerned extensively in conveying goods for the slave market.

Articles of equipment are sometimes supplied to the factories on a large scale in a different manner. We lately heard of the arrival upon the coast of a crazy old brig, which had been bought in Brazil by the slave dealers for a very small sum, being unseaworthy; she was then laden with as great a quantity of slave shackles, boilers, casks, slave provisions, &c., as she could carry; and a small crew being put into her, she was despatched to Lagos, where she arrived safely, and afterwards proceeded to other slave ports. Had she been captured, her loss would have fallen lightly upon the speculators, as the whole value of both vessel and cargo was comparatively small.

The impulse given to the Spanish trade by the conduct of the government of Cuba, appears to have induced some of the principal dealers to use larger vessels than had been customary; of this class are the barques "*Andulasia*," (or "*Crawford*,"), and "*Melwira*," and the felucca "*Huracan*," all three connected with the above-mentioned houses of Blanco and Zulueta. These two barques are American built, and have taken away cargoes of 800 slaves each; the felucca is stated to have carried off four cargoes of 700, but on her last trip (in October) she got aground near the mouth of the Sherbro, and received so much damage that she was obliged to return to Havana empty. This vessel is both heavily armed and manned, and was built at Barcelona under the direction of a Senor Negri, reported to be a captain in the Spanish navy, formerly employed in the revenue service on the coast of Spain, but now residing at Barcelona; his son, a lieutenant in the same service, commands the felucca. These three vessels have hitherto unfortunately evaded capture; but, on the other hand, the records of this year note the capture and final destruction of the "*Volador*" and the "*Jacinto*," two of the most successful slave vessels that have ever sailed from Havana; these brigantines had for many years carried on the trade with impunity, and had taken an extraordinary number of slaves from this coast.

The vigilance of her Majesty's cruisers has certainly compelled an unusual number of slave vessels to quit the coast without cargoes, and in consequence an accumulation of slaves is reported to have occurred in several barracoons, occasioning much disease and mortality, from the crowded state of these places, and a scarcity of food. *Slave-trade Papers, 1846. Class A., pp. 3—8.*

From a report made to the Lords of the Admiralty by the late Commodore Jones, it appears that the squadron of cruisers placed under his command on the western coast of Africa, captured between the 1st of April, 1844, and the 26th of August, 1845, *no less than* 75 slavers, 59 of which were seized under the equipment article, and 16 with about 5,200 slaves on board. The flags under which they were captured were as follows:—38 Brazilian, 19 Spanish, 3 Portuguese, 1 Sardinian, 1 Liberian, and 13 no colours. It is a remarkable fact that one of these slavers had been captured 11 times, one 10 times, one 9 times, one 8 times, three 7 times, four 6 times, five 5 times, nine 4 times, twelve 3 times,

fourteen twice. Thus it appears out of the 75 slavers captured by the cruisers, only 23 were captured for the first time, and that all the others were vessels which had been previously employed in the infamous traffic, and had passed through the Mixed Commission Courts in such cases many times!

HAVANA.

Her Majesty's Commissary Judge to the Earl of Aberdeen.

From the lists enclosed your lordship will perceive that the fears expressed in the report of the 1st January, 1844, respecting an active continuance of the trade to be expected, have been confirmed; one list of arrivals in the year 1843 showing only 19 vessels, while that of 1844 enumerates 25. But of the 19 in 1843, it should be further observed, that we could only point out 16 as having brought cargoes; while of those in 1844 there are accounts of 21. Thus, then, in the year 1843, we estimated that about 8,000 unfortunate Africans had been introduced into this island as slaves, including a supposed addition of one-third to our numbers reported, on account of those that had not come to our knowledge; whereas the enclosed list gives, in round numbers, a total of 7,280, of cargoes actually known, together with three other arrivals, of which the numbers were not given, and a remaining conviction that several vessels have come to the other parts of the island, of which the particulars could not be ascertained. Adding, therefore, one-third to our numbers, as before, on these accounts, I have, with much regret, to express an opinion, that about 10,000 unhappy beings have been brought here into slavery during the last year.

Great, however, as this number may be considered, I regret to have to state that, if it has not amounted to the average of the importations in the years previous to the administration of General Valdez, the cause must be ascribed to the smaller demand for slaves rather than to the diminished activity of the dealers, or prohibitory measures of the government. It is true that the vessels that have been lately sent have been fitted out in some of the smaller outports in the neighbourhood, rather than in this harbour; but it is impossible that this could have been done without the full knowledge of the government; and it is equally impossible to discredit the statements, universally believed here, of the captain-general having renewed the system of receiving the payments per head for the negroes introduced. Thus, of the two cargoes landed in November last, I learn that the negroes of one were taken to a plantation near Bejucal; and the captain of the *Partido* having claimed an exorbitant fee on their arrival, which was refused, he wrote a denunciation of them to the captain-general, who replied, that "he was aware of the circumstances, and had given account of them to the Supreme Government at Madrid, as an affair of state." If the Supreme Government have given, as is believed here, very stringent orders for the prohibition of the trade, it is clear that General O'Donnell finds reasons for the allowance of exceptions; and although it is said that several vessels have been positively prohibited from being fitted out, as, for instance, the "*Agdeluza*," of which I gave your lordship the details in the despatches reporting my denunciations, dated the 7th October and 9th November last, yet others have been fitted out "under special favour," as publicly stated, and those that have arrived have been received without molestation.

Consequent upon this course of conducting the government, there is no report to be made in this year, as in the two years preceding, of the seizure of any recently introduced Africans during the past year.

List No. 2 gives account of 23 vessels having sailed in 1843, and No. 3 of 18 vessels in 1844, from which it would appear that some check had been given during the year to the trade. I am inclined to think that this has been the case, though the criterion was not one to be relied on, of the number of vessels despatched hence, inasmuch as the traders have been in the habit of sending vessels from other places, when it better suited their purposes, that we might apprehend this course also to have been recently followed. If it suited their interests to send vessels, I doubt whether they would be deterred by the fear of the blockading squadron, and we may therefore look for the cause of the diminution in number elsewhere. A sufficient reason appears to be the less demand, owing to the low price of sugars, and the difficulties in which the planters find themselves involved. At the beginning of the year the season was singularly unpropitious, on account of a long continuance of dry weather, so that it was calculated that upwards of 200,000 head of cattle had perished in the island for want of

fodder; and they had often to be driven two, or even three leagues for water; and in October the island was visited by a most tremendous hurricane, which destroyed the crops so much that many estates do not grind at all this season, and few expect to make near the usual quantity. Thus, then, as in the last few years the quantities of sugar exported from this place and Matanzas have been returned at the custom house as in

1840,	..	..	..	712,543 boxes.
1841,	..	..	..	712,914 do.
1842,	..	..	..	700,267 do.
1843,	..	..	..	715,495 do.
1844,	..	..	..	847,000 do.

The number of boxes estimated as to be obtained during this season will not exceed 650,000. With this diminished production no increase of price is expected; and in fact the price kept up last year with the astonishingly increased amount was ascribed to the sugar crop of the United States having failed, occasioning a market there for the surplus, which would otherwise have overloaded the markets of Europe.

As another cause of depression, must be considered the unsettled state of the island. Whatever may be the real truth as to the extent of the combinations formed by the coloured people against the whites, it is unquestionable that there was, about a twelvemonth since, evinced a peculiar unquiet spirit and tendency to insubordination, which might easily at first have been taken for evidences of a general conspiracy, though as no proofs whatever of such a fact have transpired, beyond confessions extorted by torture and the lash, I have long since come to a different conclusion. I believe, on the best consideration I can give to the subject, that the several insurrections were only ascribable to local causes; for they broke out at different times, at considerable distances from each other, and among negroes of isolated estates. When thus the slaves of one of these estates broke out, and overran those in the neighbourhood, it does not appear that they were ever received as if expected or prepared for; but on the contrary, with surprise, and sometimes even with opposition. As the country had been long in quietness, I suspect that the conduct of the masters and overseers had been becoming more arbitrary, and as new importations from Africa had been lately so extensively effected, and of those very many from the Lucumi nation, one notorious for its desperate character, it is very probable that natural feelings might have prompted them to deeds which I cannot believe even the most ignorant of the coloured race on consideration could have expected to find crowned with success.

I have entered into these details to show, that the unsettled state of the island, if originating in one cause, has been kept up by another; and the planters, in distress and distrust, are not inclined to enter into any new purchases or speculations.

Thus, then, I conclude, that the expeditions to the coast for slaves have not been more numerous, only because the demand was not greater. And although I believe that I am not overstating the truth, when I estimate about 3,000 negroes to have died under the hands of the military during the year; and about another 1,000 to have been banished, or gone away voluntarily, to say nothing of the usual waste of lives in the estates, yet the price of slaves has not increased. The usual price for bozales used to be from 300 to 350 dollars per head, for the cargo, as they arrived; and of those that came in November last, as before referred to, I learned that a picked lot, of 40 of the best, was bought at 440 dollars per head, which has been considered a large sum given for them. *Ib.* 378—380.

The communications of H.M. Commissioners to the British Government up to the end of October, 1845, show that there had been no real abatement of the slave-trade with the Island of Cuba. No information whatever is given relating to the traffic with Porto Rico. The British Government has no Consul there.

RIO DE JANEIRO.

Her Majesty's Commissioners to the Earl of Aberdeen.

Analysis of the traffic between Rio de Janeiro and Africa, during the year 1844, taken from the custom house official returns:—

Departures to Africa.—Under the Brazilian flag 16 vessels, Portuguese 4, American 8, French 4, Hamburguese 2,—34.

Arrivals from Africa.—Under the Brazilian flag 6 vessels, Portuguese 3, American 2, French 3, Hamburguese 1,—15; in all 49 vessels.

It would appear, then, that 40 are all the ventures which took place to and from Africa during the year, and that these were all

quite illicit. Your Lordship will, however, soon perceive how wide from the truth such a conclusion would be. From these meagre returns it appears, that of the 34 vessels which departed, there are unaccounted for—

Brazilian 10 vessels, American 6, Portuguese 1, French 1, Hamburguese 1,—19; of which number some have, in all probability, come over from Africa to the different outports without legal papers, and there again refitted to return; some been destroyed after landing the slaves; and some captured. But so long as the custom house authorities permit all kinds of fraud and deception, both in respect of the declared ownership of vessels, and of their outward clearances when bound to Africa, it is useless to look to official returns as a criterion by which to judge of the extent and nature of the intercourse between Brazil and Africa.

These official returns serve to show the degree to which almost every Brazilian authority is implicated in the illicit introduction of African slaves, and lead to the conclusion that the employment of other than Brazilian vessels in the peculiar trade of only carrying cargoes to Africa, and returning to Brazil in ballast, is increasing; thus demonstrating that the slave dealers have managed to obtain the cover of different flags, under which they place in Africa, without risk, the indispensable means of pursuing their nefarious trade. So strong, indeed, are the inducements offered by slave dealers in the high price they pay for such assistance, that some general measure appears called for to check such an employment of shipping, an employment directly adverse to the suppression of slave trade, and no less, it would appear, to the national interests of the respective flags thus bribed into a participation in this piratical trade.

The List enclosed shows, according to the best information that could be obtained, the particulars respecting the landing of slaves on this coast from Santos to Campos, during the year 1844; and from this statement it appears that from 43 vessels, 16,218 slaves have been landed. Every exertion has been used to render this return correct, but, notwithstanding, we have good reason to believe that many vessels have landed their cargoes of human beings, of which no notice has reached us.

This part of the Brazilian coast affords such vast facilities for this description of contraband, and the establishments at the numerous and well adapted landing places are now so efficiently prepared and managed, and so securely protected by the surrounding authorities, that the rapidity, security, and secrecy with which 500 or 600 slaves are taken from a vessel, and she, in a few hours after, anchors in the harbour of this capital, is surprising. The proprietors in the localities the best adapted for these clandestine proceedings, such as the neighbourhood of Campos, Cape Frio, Ilha Grande, and Santos, are reaping a rich harvest; and even the appointment to the municipal offices in those districts is said to be now an object of eager competition.

And as, unhappily, the capital employed in these illicit transactions augments, so the influence of those engaged in the slave-trade increases; and their facilities in obtaining commercial credit, or, in other words, the use of capital, are greatly multiplied.

The only impediment to the complete success of the slave-trade is, seizure on the high seas by the British cruisers; and in order to lesson prejudice from such an event, every cargo of slaves is purchased for account of several individuals, whose respective shares are in proportion to the funds they may have placed in Africa, and we are told, is so subdivided amongst several vessels, that the capture of four vessels would not subject them to loss, provided the fifth was successful in landing the slaves in Brazil.

These funds are sent to Africa, either in manufactured goods, Brazilian produce, or specie, according to the notion of each individual; and all the shipments are generally placed under the management of persons who mostly take their passage to Africa on board the same vessel.

The price of a young, healthy, and well formed male slave, including boys as well as men, averaged, during the last year, about 650,000 reas, or about £81 for cash, and about 400,000 reas, or £50 for women and elderly persons; on credit the prices would be increased at the rate fully of one per cent. per month, and it is not unusual for planters to purchase them at eighteen months, and even two years' credit, giving security on their estates.

We are credibly informed that on Sunday, the 2nd instant, Senhor Manoel Pinto da Fonseca, one of the most wealthy slave-dealers, acted himself as auctioneer, and sold upwards of 500 new blacks at a depôt he has in the suburbs of this town, called

Ponta do Caju; that the average price of the whole was 512,000 reas, or about £64 each—two thirds cash and one third for bills; that it is calculated the cash payments amply repays all his outlays, the remaining third being clear profit, which is estimated at 101,000 reas, or about £12,625. This anecdote serves to show the state of the market as to the value of slaves, and of public feeling as to the slave-trade. Most of the importers of slaves are also engaged in the retail sale of foreign imports at Rio de Janeiro, and they have hitherto obtained from the foreign merchants merchandize to considerable amounts on what may be called nominal credits; as their payments, so far from being punctual, appear to be regulated by their own convenience, enjoying in this manner the use of capital on very easy terms.

The supercargoes having the management of these various shipments to the coast of Africa, are generally the agents of the leading slave-dealers, and repeatedly cross the Atlantic, and occasionally remain in Africa. We are informed that the system is now to have large deposits of slaves ready for shipment in various points on the African coast, so that all detention is avoided with the vessel destined to bring the slaves, and which is generally piratically navigated, and sometimes inconceivably small. We are assured, on very good authority, that last November Manoel Pinto da Fonseca's agent had collected ready for shipment, in the neighbourhood of Quillemane, 2,800 slaves. This individual and Jose Bernardino de Sa are now the most prominent slave-dealers, and both are very wealthy. They have each purchased very extensive landed property in the heart of this city. Manoel Pinto da Fonseca has publicly declared, that his profits in the African trade alone, during the year 1844, were 1,300,000,000 reas, or about £150,000.

The most successful adventures to the coast of Africa, during 1844, were those accomplished with the assistance of vessels under the American flag.

The plan has been to employ two vessels under charters, sending them to Africa from this place with cargoes adapted for the African marts, and also with water and other equipments for the transport of slaves. One of these vessels proceeds to trade at the different African ports, under the directions of the chief supercargo, while the other remains stationary, as a store-ship, at the place where the negroes are collecting for embarkation. This stationary vessel, generally one which has, according to the terms of a former charter, been two or three previous voyages, is then, under the conditions frequently found in such contracts, delivered over to the charterers as their property; when, being prepared for the reception of the slaves, and all the time under an illegal flag, she is crammed with slaves as soon as the opportunity offers and proceeds to her private rendezvous in Brazil. *Thither also her consort returns in ballast, with part of the crew of the other vessel on board, and in all probability assists, should occasion require, to decoy the cruisers from the vessel taking the slaves.*

If all the arguments are good which are brought forward to prove that the total suppression of slave importation would at once ruin the agricultural interests, it must be conceded that during the last five years those interests have prospered, because the importation of slaves has undeniably augmented on this part of the Brazilian coast. But what is the real state of these interests? To judge from the importation of bozal negroes into Rio de Janeiro from Bahia and Pernambuco, it would appear that there is no lack of them in those provinces, and that there exists a brisk demand in the inland districts, supplied from this seaport and others in its vicinity.

The fact we believe to be, that throughout Brazil planters are alike anxious to obtain labour, but that the great capital employed at Rio de Janeiro in the slave-trade, renders the slave mart here a more advantageous one for the planters, because it affords longer credits for the slaves they purchase. But the planters pay very dearly for this relief, in the interest which is exacted, and for which the produce they grow becomes security; so that the planters, as a body, may be said to cultivate their estates more for the advantage of the slave-dealer than themselves; because the slave-dealer's profit is at once secured, while the planter's returns, from which these outlays are to be derived, remain dependent not only on the precarious health and life of newly imported negroes, but also on the vicissitudes of seasons and the fluctuations of markets.

Independent of these disadvantageous terms under which planters obtain labour, the produce they grow is enormously taxed, and

they are now in addition threatened with a rise in the prices of the foreign articles they require, by reason of the projected heavy augmentation of import duties. It is consequently incomprehensible how the importation of slaves, under this system, can close the drains which are now absorbing all the profits of the agriculturists; at the same time that it appears clear, that the more labour they obtain under such disadvantages, the more deeply will they become embarrassed. And even admitting the hypothesis, that the importation of slaves becomes unrestricted, and their value greatly reduced, still that would not relieve those planters who are already embarrassed, and would only cause a cruel sacrifice of life among the slaves, besides adding fearfully to the damages of a preponderant slave population.

When it is considered that the Brazilian slave-dealer, besides the present facility of placing his funds in Africa, enjoys the certain protection of his own Government on the shores and in the territorial waters of the empire, he cannot but augment his nefarious transactions, stimulated by the profits they leave, and regardless of the horrors they occasion, and the ruin they must evidently entail on the agricultural interests of his country. On the other hand, there appears little to hope for from the Imperial Government, after so long tacitly witnessing this illegal and flagitious traffic without apparently being startled at the general demoralization it has effected in every branch of the executive, or at the ruinous results which must ultimately fall on the country.

It is to be deplored that, under the still existing Brazilian law, of November 1831, prohibiting slave importation, and founded on the stipulations of the Treaty with Great Britain, dated November 1826, this report on slave-trade, in the 14th year after the promulgation of that law, should disclose such facts, and describe so critical a state of things. Ibid. 504—510.

The subsequent communications of these commissioners show that there has been no abatement during the year 1845 in the extent and activity of the slave-trade.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Her Majesty's Commissioners to the Earl of Aberdeen.

Since the 25th of April, 1844, when we had the honour of addressing to your lordship our first report upon the state of the slave-trade in this quarter of the world, we have not been able to obtain much precise information upon the subject; but from what has reached us, we gather that *the trade still continues to be carried on to a considerable extent from the Portuguese possessions in the Mozambique*, and that, under whatever colours the vessel engaged therein may sail, the negroes who are carried off are destined for the ports of Brazil.

Quillemane and its neighbourhood appear to be still the places from which the exportation of slaves is principally carried on. One instance only has been mentioned to us of a large brig, named the "*Laguneuse*," being at Inhambane, endeavouring to get a cargo of slaves; but it was reported also, that they could only be procured by ten and twenty at that place.

Our latest accounts from the east coast, came down only to July last, when, we are informed the slave-trade was going on briskly at Quillemane; a good supply of negroes being ready, and two barques, one named the "*Annibal*," being then expected to arrive from Rio de Janeiro for cargoes.

The Governor, Don Fernando Carlos da Costa, had not been recalled; but it was said that an officer, named Captain Abreu Madeira, was on the spot ready to replace him if he wished to retire. He had, however, according to our informant, evinced no intention of moving, though he talked of doing so in the course of the present year.

Senhor Izodoro, the Collector of Customs, continued to take an active share in the slave-trade, having been seen on one occasion taking slaves in his own launch to a vessel named the "*Julia*," the ship named in our former report as having been detained by Lieutenant Tron, of Her Most Faithful Majesty's brig "*Gentil Libertador*," and released by order of the Governor of Quillemane. This vessel, we learn, ultimately succeeded in embarking between 600 and 700 negroes, and eight days afterwards was wrecked on the Basas de India, when every soul on board perished, except the captain, pilot, and three men, who escaped in a boat, and reached Macuse, whence they returned to Quillemane, where they still remained in July last. Two other cases have been mentioned to us, in which the prosecution of this inhuman trade has been attended with a fearful loss of human life.

Early in February last, a small schooner of about 90 tons, belonging to Senhor Izodoro, took on board 400 negroes from Macuse for Rio de Janeiro. She shortly afterwards returned to the first-named place, having lost 200 of these unhappy creatures by death; the survivors were re-landed in a very sickly state, and the vessel was loaded with wood for Quillemane, where our informant saw her undergoing repairs.

The other case, is that of 300 negroes who were confined in a barracoon to the north of Quillemane, ready for shipment, when one of them having slipped his collar, set fire to the building, and they were all destroyed.

The exportation of slaves from Quillemane is of course checked, so long as any of Her Majesty's ships of war are in the neighbourhood; and many of the vessels which have been thus prevented from shipping negroes, have gone to Madagascar for bullocks, or to Zanzibar or elsewhere for a cargo of goods. During the year 1844, the cases of eleven vessels have been brought before the Court of Vice-admiralty in this colony by Her Majesty's ships of war, and condemned under the Act 2 and 3 Vict., cap. 73, as having been equipped for the slave-trade, without colours or papers to prove their real national character; and one other, the "*Imperador Don Pedro*," has been sent on to Sierra Leone for trial, before the mixed British and Brazilian Commission. Of these vessels, eight were taken in the Mozambique, *but we believe that their cases are few in number compared with those which have succeeded in carrying off their cargoes and landing them on the coast of Brazil*; and our last accounts from Rio de Janeiro tend to confirm this belief, as they mention, that no less than 30 vessels were in preparation for the eastern coast of Africa alone. Ibid. 609, 610.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SLAVERY.—BRAZIL.

The following extracts drawn from the Reports of the British Consular Agents residing in Brazil will show the truly degraded position and horrible treatment of the slave population of Brazil.

Mr. Newcomen to Lord Aberdeen.

"Slaves upon the sugar plantations are very hardly used by some planters, being worked both day and night, and, in seasons of scarcity, much stinted in food. Those employed in the cultivation of cotton are much better treated; they are assisted by their owners in getting in the harvest, and in picking and cleaning the cotton; and, like slaves employed solely for domestic purposes, are looked upon as members of the family, being, with few exceptions, well fed and clothed, and lightly worked: among this class, there are instances of the emancipated slave's voluntarily continuing in his former owner's service, with little or no remuneration. There is in existence a law, purporting to be for the protection of slaves, which prohibits masters from flogging, or inflicting other corporeal punishments upon them, and requires that, on a slave's having committed any offence, his master should make a petition to a magistrate, stating the nature of the offence, and praying that the offender may be punished: the magistrate then sentences him to a certain number of lashes, which he receives in the prison from one of the police. This, however, like most of the Brazilian laws, is merely nominal; for I can myself bear witness, that slave-owners here flog their slaves in a most cruel manner, without an appeal to any tribunal [other than their own inclination]; and even when they do send them before a judge, they need only state the number of lashes they desire to have administered, and their wishes will be complied with, without any inquiry being made into the circumstances of the case."—*Slave-trade Papers, class B, 1845.*

Mr. Cowper to Lord Aberdeen.

"Of the thirteen Engenhos which I have visited—viz., Engenho Vello, Janquiera, Jurisaca, Boa Vista, Massangano, Mercedes, Salgado, Genipapo, Caité, Agoa Fria, Anjo, Trapiche, and Jaçeu—the four last, belonging to Colonel Gaspar de Menezes Vasconcellos Drummond, afforded me the greatest interest, and, as regards the state of the slaves, may be looked upon as the locality where they are treated with the greatest humanity in this province. The system by which he governs the slaves is peculiar; he has drawn up a code of laws, avowedly upon the principles of the martial law; each slave that is purchased, or who arrives at a discretionary age, has this code explained to him, and by it alone can he be tried or punished for his offences.

"Colonel Drummond endeavours to prevent concubinage, by marrying the girls off as they attain their eighteenth year; he does not force this upon them, but if they afterwards commit themselves, *he sends them to the fields, which they naturally dislike, for the hoe is a dreadful instrument for a female to wield*; he does not allow a woman to perform labour after the fifth month of her pregnancy, and she continues her light domestic

occupations for twelve months after her child is born, that she may rear it. His domestic slaves are all females, and are never allowed to pass the threshold, but sit for fifteen hours a-day making clothes for the rest of the slaves.

"The Sansula, or slave-building, at 'Trapiche,' is a perfect picture of comfort and neatness; but I cannot speak so favourably of this portion of his other Engenhos. Each slave is allowed two suits of clothes per annum and a blanket; their rations are served out once a-week, consisting of dried beef from Ceara, and farina; the quantity, the military allowance to the soldiers of the line; they work eighteen hours per diem during the crop-time, and fourteen during the season of comparative rest.

"I have spoken of 'irresponsible tyranny.' I propose to offer to your lordship one or two examples of it, which may demonstrate how a slave may be ill-treated in Brazil, and with what absolute legal impunity the most barbarous and abominable crimes may be perpetrated at the Engenhos.

"The Engenho 'Genippapo' situated in the most beautiful portion of this really exquisite province, was last year the scene of an act of wild retributive justice perpetrated upon its proprietor, Colonel Antonio Francisco de Rego Barros, one of the most ferocious monsters that ever disgraced the name of man.

"However improbable some of these stories may appear to your lordship, I cannot doubt them, as I have seen some of the poor creatures whom he mutilated. He is most positively stated to have worked his slaves, women as well as men, TWENTY HOURS per diem; to have been in the constant habit of maiming them; and he is said to have actually killed upwards of twenty in his fury. If a woman offended him, his favourite punishment was the injection of pepper vinegar into the vagina; if a man, emasculation. He killed one man, a slave of course, who disturbed him by his groans, by cutting away his parts with a razor; and he is accused of burying several persons alive, some say one of his own children. But the following story I had confirmed by the mother and sister of the victim; having formed a strong desire to possess a very pretty child, the daughter of one of his white tenants, he caused her to be stolen from her parents, and brought to Genippapo; he kept her there under the same roof as his wife, who, of course, dared not complain, until she had borne him two children, when he either discovered her in an intrigue with a young man who was upon a visit at the Engenho, or he fancied her guilty. He called two of his slaves, and ordered them to dig a grave, and to put the girl into it; they dragged her out, but overcome by her tears, allowed her to escape. Upon their return, probably answering their master evasively, he ordered them to go with him, and show him the body; it is needless to add, that he discovered the fraud which had been practised upon him, and caused the poor fellows to be castrated. This is a favourite punishment with some proprietors.

"I have here presented to your lordship the best and worse features of predial slavery as they exist in this province. I fear that if there are not many proprietors to be found brutal as Antonio Francisco de Rego Barros, there are still less to be met with so humane as Colonel Drummond. Upon the whole, it would be absurd to deny that there is no protection afforded by the laws to these people. They are kept in a state of the darkest ignorance; they are baptised for form's sake, but are never instructed in religion, and, no doubt, actually worship the images of the saints, as probably resembling their African gods; their daughters are always debauched when quite children; and their wives (if they are allowed them) only protected by the loss of beauty, brought on by the thousand ills they suffer. They are overworked. Who can deny it? If a well-fed horse is used for one-fourth of the time per day, that our ill-fed fellow-men are worked, he will become a skeleton; and yet these people are worked eighteen hours a day! It is most monstrous, my lord, and scarcely explicable how nature can support itself; but I verily believe that the degradations to which slavery gives rise, in the majority of men actually destroys their intellect, their reason, and levels them with the brutes, leaving nothing more to direct and guide their actions than general instinct. Power being thus withdrawn from their reasoning faculties, falls into their physical, and enables them to support treatment the most degrading, and sufferings the most acute, which under any other circumstances would annihilate them. They are ill-fed, even those few who have sufficient in quantity, would die, they could not live long upon the unwholesome and continual salt beef or fish, which is their unchangeable diet, were it not that they rob the precious limited hours allowed them for sleep, to catch rats or crabs for food, or, perhaps worse, become in secret dirt eaters, and die the most horrible deaths. They are ill-clothed; let us take the most favourable part of my report, Colonel Drummond's property, where they have two suits a year: for the men, a shirt and a pair of trousers; for the women, a shift and a frock. Can persons, constantly hard at work, keep themselves clean with such a wardrobe, and in such a climate? The air is infected by the smell of their bodies, which has erroneously been attributed by ignorant prejudice to the colour of their skin; whereas I have often met with filthy white men in the tropics, with precisely the same disgusting odour; and on the contrary, in Pará, where the blacks are remarkably clean, the "catinga" as

this smell is called, is almost unknown. They are denied many of the privileges of beasts, who are at least allowed to tend their young; these men are not. The birds pair at will; these are prohibited, excepting at the will of a capricious master. They are not citizens; if they are denied natural and legal rights, it is not astonishing their political are withheld from them. In a word my lord, all the worst features of slavery exist in this province; the endeavour of the master is to suppress alike the intellect, the passions, and the senses of these poor creatures, and the laws aid them in transforming the AFRICAN MAN INTO THE AMERICAN BEAST.—Slave-trade papers, class B, 1846.

Mr. Goring to Lord Aberdeen.

"Respecting the treatment of the predial slave-population of this province, Mr. Consul Cowper's despatch of the 1st of January last year, is so explicit that I have little to say. Not any improvement has taken place, either in the quantity or quality of their food; nor any additional hours of relaxation granted. I feel inclined to say that these have been curtailed, the increased demand for sugar in the European markets inducing the planters to work their mills all day and night, that they may take advantage of the favoured opportunity. THE SLAVE IS NEVER THOUGHT OF; UNREMITTING LABOUR IS DEMANDED—A SOURCE TO AUGMENT THE PROFITS OF HIS HARSH MASTER."—Slave-trade papers, class B, 1844, p. 414.

HORRORS OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

In the slave-trade papers which have been just published we have another illustration of the atrocious slave-traffic, in the deposition of one WILLIAM PAGE, who was compelled, under circumstances which he narrates, to ship himself on board the *Kentucky*, a slaver from the Eastern coast of Africa to Brazil.

"Deponent further said, that a majority of the slaves were brought on board during the night in launches, near the fort at Inhambane. There were about 500 in all that came on board. About a dozen died on the passage, and forty-six men and one woman were hung and shot during the passage; and 440 or about, were landed at Cape Frio. When the slaves came on board they were put down on the slave deck, all in irons. Across the vessel, aft, a bulkhead was run, aft of which, and in the cabin, the women, 150 to 200 in number, were put, and the men and boys forward of the bulkhead. The vessel had not a full cargo. It was intended to have 700, but they could not get them. The negroes slept scattered about the slave-deck, as they chose. They were fed twice a-day with beans, farina, rice, and dried beef, all boiled together. And deponent further said, that the next day after the vessel crossed the bar on leaving Inhambane, the negroes rose upon the officers and crew; a majority of the men, all of whom were in irons, got their irons off, broke through the bulkhead in the female's department, and likewise into the fore-castle. Upon this, the captain armed the crew with cutlasses, and got all the muskets and pistols, and loaded them, and the crew were firing down amongst the slaves for half an hour or more. In the meantime deponent was nailing the hatches down, and used no musket or pistol; and there was no occasion, as the Brazilian sailors seemed to like the sport. In about half an hour they were subdued, and became quiet again. The slaves were then brought on deck, eight or ten at a time, and ironed afresh. They were all re-ironed that afternoon, and put below, excepting about seven, who remained on deck. None were killed on this occasion, and but eight or ten more or less wounded. They fired with balls in the pistols and shot in the muskets. Supposes the reason none were killed is, that they had to fire through the grates of the hatches, and the slaves got out of the way as much as they could. On the next day they were brought upon deck two or three dozens at a time, all being well ironed, and tried by Captain Fonseca and officers; and within two or three days afterwards forty-six men and one woman were hung and shot, and thrown overboard. They were ironed or chained two together, and when they were hung a rope was put round their necks, and they were drawn up to the yard-arm clear of the sail. This did not kill them, but only choked or strangled them. They were then shot in the breast, and the bodies thrown overboard. If only one of two that were ironed together was to be hung, a rope was put round his neck and he was drawn up clear of the deck, outside of the bulwarks, and his leg laid across the rail and chopped off, to save the irons and release him from his companion, who, at the same time, lifted up his leg till the other's was chopped off as aforesaid, and he released. The bleeding negro was then drawn up, shot in the breast, and thrown overboard as aforesaid. The legs of about one dozen were chopped off in this way. When the feet fell on deck, they were picked up by the Brazilian crew and thrown overboard, and sometimes at the body, while it still hung living; and all kinds of sport was made of the business. When two that were chained together were both to be hung, they were hung up together by their necks, shot, and thrown overboard, irons and all. When one of the women was hung up and shot, the ball did not take effect, and she was thrown overboard living, and was seen to struggle some time in the water before she sunk. And

deponent further said that, after this was over, they brought up and flogged about twenty men and six women. When they were flogged they were laid flat upon the deck, and their hands tied, and secured to one ring bolt, and their feet to another. They were then whipped by two men at a time—by the one with a stick about two feet long, with five or six strands of raw hide secured to the end of it (the hide was dry and hard, and about two feet long); and by the other with a piece of the hide of a sea horse; this was a strip about four feet long, from half an inch to an inch wide, as thick as one's finger or thicker, and hard as whalebone, but more flexible. The flogging was very severe. All the women that were flogged at this time died, but none of the men. Many of them, however, were sick all the passage, and were obliged to lie on their bellies during the remainder of the voyage; and some of them could hardly get on shore on arrival at Cape Frio. The flesh of some of them where they were flogged (which was not generally on their backs, but on their posteriors) putrified and came off, in some cases six or eight inches in diameter, and in places half an inch thick. Their wounds were dressed and filled up by the contre mestre with farina and cachaca (rum) made into poultice, and sometimes with a salve made on board. When the farina and cachaca were applied to the poor creatures, they would shiver and tremble for half an hour, and groan and sob with the most intense agony. They were a shocking and horrible sight during the whole passage. There was no disturbance on board after this, and no flogging, excepting of the boys for stealing water, farina, and so forth, when it was not allowed them. Deponent further said that the ages of the negroes were from nine or ten up to thirty years. They were generally healthy, as sickly ones were not bought. Most of them were generally entirely without any article of clothes or covering, though at times they had strips of cloths around their loins, and some had handkerchiefs tied around them. The women were not so frequently naked as the men. They were all brought on deck at different times during the voyage, say fifty at a time, and washed, by having water thrown over them, &c. They were washed four or five times each, and twice they had vinegar given them to wash their mouths, and scrub their gums with brushes. In good weather the negroes themselves were obliged to sweep and wash down the slave-deck every day, and thus keep it clean; but at night, and in hot weather, the hold of the vessel smelt very badly. But a few of them were sick during the passage, excepting those that were so badly flogged."

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

The following statement of facts extracted from *La Reforme*, present slavery in the French colonies under a painfully interesting aspect. Our friends will thank us for transferring to our columns the details. We should like to have been able to accompany them with the introductory remarks of the editor, which are admirable. It is most consoling to find that in him the doctrine of immediate and entire abolition has a cordial, earnest, and eloquent expositor and defender.

During the course of last April, nine slaves succeeded in effecting their escape from Martinique. Two of these poor fellows belonged to the quarter La Trinité; the other seven belonged to the quarter Sainte Marie. On the 22nd November, 1845, five fine and brave sailors, as our correspondent inform us, belonging to M. Charles Belmont, fled to Dominica in their master's sloop. He having gone in person to pursue them, came up with them an hour after their arrival in a land of freedom. He reproached them with having abandoned him, and made numerous promises to them to induce them to go back with him. "No," replied they, "we have no complaint to make against you, but we are tired of working for a master instead of for ourselves." The proprietor of these five slaves, who are now free, possessed them only; he is ruined by the obstinacy of the government in keeping as slaves, men who will be such no longer. Slavery involves dangers much more to be dreaded than this; and never before were they so imminent as now. Those who do not, like M. C. Belmont, gain their whole subsistence by the labour of negroes, are nevertheless often punished by losses as severe as his without experiencing any pity. Shortly after it became known at Guadaloupe that the slaves had been deceived in regard to their emancipation, thirty-two negroes, including many women and children, belonging to the quarter St. Anne, in the night of the 6th or 7th September, carried off a large barge belonging to a person named Harel, and safely gained Antigua. This plot, admirably concocted, and brought to so favourable a conclusion, carried consternation into that quarter. The men who escaped belonged to different masters. M. Harel, besides his large barge, lost three sailors with it.

Twelve days after this, on the 20th September, three negroes belonging to plantation *Suffren*, succeeded in escaping to the Island of Dominica.

At the latter end of August in the same year, a government

negro called *Bombonniste*, to whom it had been said that the negroes belonging to the Crown would receive their liberty after an apprenticeship of five years, determined not to wait for it. He took his wife and three of his children, and fled with them to Dominica. But the poor fellow had six children, and was obliged to leave three of them behind him. Will he act as Jacquet and Balthasar did three years since? But how did they act? We will tell you?

Jacquet and Balthasar, after having escaped to Antigua, returned suddenly, and stated that they repented having run away, and were tired of eating the *flesh of mad cows* among the English. How rejoiced were M. Amé Noel, (their master), and other planters. Who could deny this proof that emancipation had been fatal to the emancipated themselves, when two negroes who had gone to try how they liked it had returned voluntarily to their chains? Six weeks after, Jacquet and his wife, Balthasar, and twenty-five other negroes from different plantations, set out again, and reached their destination in safety.

Allow us to reflect for a moment on the morality of this action. A slave runs away from his master and becomes free. But he is not happy; he thought that he should prefer liberty to his wife, but he was mistaken; without her he cannot enjoy his happiness. He determines to deliver her from her chains, or become a slave by her side. The companion of his flight cannot resolve to abandon him in this dangerous enterprise; he resolves to aid him, defend him, and share his destiny like a faithful friend. They both return to slavery to save the beloved wife; their project is conducted with marvellous address; their souls, warmed by the noble sentiments which agitate them, overflow with hope. They impart them to others; men and women, stupified under the yoke of slavery, are penetrated by the spirit of independence which animated the two generous friends; and, at the appointed hour, twenty-five slaves, conducted by Jacquet and Balthasar, embark together in a ship. They breast the stormy sea which separates, Antigua from Guadaloupe, having a thousand chances of loss to one of safety; but Providence, as if it wished to recompense so much courage and moral energy, brought all these fugitives, safe and sound, to the free soil of an English colony. In this magnificent adventure, you will see *virtue* rendered sublime, you will admire one of the most beautiful traits of love, boldness, devotedness, and generosity that can adorn the human character.

Such are the negroes to whom liberty is refused, on the plea that they would be unable to enjoy it without danger to themselves and to society at large. Not being able to deny the principle, persons elude the consequences by declaring those whom it protects incapable of supporting it! One of the causes on which this odious subterfuge is founded is, *the absence of all ties of kindred among the slaves*. We have just seen how they love their wives and their friends; we will now show how they love their mothers. This incident took place at Saintes, Guadaloupe, during September last.

Two brothers, quite children—one being twelve, and the other thirteen years of age—having committed a fault for which they knew they would be severely punished, got into a boat, and rowed towards Dominica. Providence conducted them thither in safety. Their mother idolized them, and the proprietor of this little family treated it as his own. Their mother was inconsolable at the loss of her sons; her eyes were constantly turned towards the island that contained the dear objects of her affection. Their master also, sorry to lose his little slaves, sent to Dominica a friend, who succeeded in finding them out. This messenger simply told them that their mother was ready to die with grief at their absence. That was enough; they jumped into the sloop in which the messenger had come, and returned to Saintes, and to slavery!

These are the beings who must be prepared for liberty. And the government of France dares to take refuge in an absurd calumny, in order that it may deceive the nation which demands the immediate and entire abolition of slavery.

Let us hasten to say, that these happy escapes must not satisfy philanthropists on the state of the colonial question, nor make them think that the slaves can easily deliver themselves from their dreadful condition. The vigilance of the planters and the police is close and persevering; it has powerful means of action. For one successful escape, how many others are unsuccessful! and what dreadful punishments await the unfortunate fugitive, punishments which become more and more cruel, as the attempts to escape are renewed. And how many more after having escaped, do not obtain the end they had in view! The difficulties of these attempts oblige the fugitives

to trust themselves to the waves in frail boats; the sea is almost always violently agitated in the narrow straits between the islands; currents are formed that the oar cannot overcome, and, it is too well known, that many of the slaves who have left Guadaloupe or Martinique never reach the British possessions. Many meet with death while seeking liberty. Accordingly, we find the most intrepid alone try this perilous passage. Minds, less strong, groan powerless under the whip. Others, exasperated by the injustice with which they are treated, wreak their vengeance in a manner that we cannot but deplore, whatever might be the cause. A case of this kind happened lately at Saint Francois, in the island of Guadaloupe. A gang of slaves having revolted on account of the cruelty of the overseer, an affray ensued, in which M. Povert, the overseer, was killed. Many of the negroes, seeing the contest was useless, put an end to their own lives, cursing at the same time the other slaves, because they did not come to their assistance.

We have frequently had the pain of recording cases of suicide among the slaves. On the 30th of last March, we related that of Gratien, a slave belonging to Mme. Aumont, who wished to sell him to a bad master. Later intelligence informs us of two other suicides—the first that of Sylvain, slave of M. Lalanne, which took place on the 24th of April. He was led to commit this crime on account of the barbarous treatment he received from his master. The second case is that of Leon, belonging to M. Ancelin Morenvil; he precipitated himself down a precipice on the 28th of April, rather than return to his master, whose cruelty he feared.

Will not the ministry do anything for this population decimated by grief? These are not chance cases or accidents. They know—it is impossible for them not to know—that slavery daily makes new victims; the misery which accompanies it daily provoke these deeds, oppression drives them mad. In a work that we have frequently quoted, because it furnishes facts whose official character gives them an invincible authority, M. France, a Colonel of Militia, relates eighteen suicides from the 14th of February to the 19th of August, 1845, inclusive; EIGHTEEN SUICIDES IN SIX MONTHS, AND THAT IN A SINGLE COLONY! All these dreadful evils, which cannot be denied, are stated, witnessed to, and certified by the police-reports. But the police do not know all. They do not penetrate into the recesses of the woods, or descend to the bottoms of the rocks or of the sea, to find the bodies of many other victims. M. l'Abbé Dugoujon, who had not the same means as M. France for proving the truth of his statements, has cited many cases of suicide which took place during the very short time his truly evangelical zeal allowed him to remain in Guadeloupe.

Are not these, irrefutable and too dreadful testimonies that the discipline of the gangs is still horrible and intolerable, notwithstanding the ameliorations it has received? The ministry affirms that the blacks are well treated; that the magistrates, whose duty it is to protect them, fulfil their mission properly. In the presence of all the corpses made in six months by slavery when ameliorated, regulated, inspected, *humanized*, ought it not acknowledge that liberty alone can prevent the immolation of more victims at the shrine of that execrable divinity called the colonial system?

But we must say, lest people be deceived, that Government is not the sole guilty party in this case. The whole country becomes an accessory, though unwillingly, by not compelling them to abolish slavery, by more frequent public manifestations of its will. The heavy curse of the slave falls on every member of our great nation. So long as France, having the power to save them by emancipation, does not do it, all Frenchmen will have their share in the iniquities and the crimes connected with this institution, which truly belongs to the most barbarous ages.

SUGAR DUTIES.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, HER
MAJESTY'S FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, &c.
&c. &c.

MY LORD,

It is with extreme regret that the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have learned, that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to submit immediately to the consideration of Parliament, a measure which shall legalize the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British markets.

Into the policy of this measure, viewed simply as a question of revenue, or as affecting the interests of the growers of sugar in the East and West Indies, or in its party and political bearings, the committee have no disposition whatever to enter.

In the course which they have felt it to be their duty to pursue, they have not been influenced by the spirit of faction. They never have had, and have not now, the wish to uphold monopolies, to protect class interests, or to promote party purposes. They have regarded the measure as involving great principles and solemn responsibilities; and in the relation which it bears to slavery and the slave-trade—in the strength it will give the one, and the stimulus it will afford the other—they find an argument which appeals with irresistible force to their convictions and feelings against it.

Such being the case, the committee beg permission to lay before your lordship the grounds on which their decided opposition to this measure rests.

1. The committee affirm, that the fiscal policy intended to be applied to foreign sugars, without regard to their origin, will strengthen and consolidate the system of slavery, will greatly aggravate the condition of slaves, and will give a frightful impulse to the slave-trade. The fact that the sugars hitherto excluded from the British markets are *slave-grown*, that they will come chiefly from Brazil and Cuba, is sufficient to establish the position. The opening of the markets will increase the demand for this article to a vast extent; and to meet that demand the whip must be plied with redoubled energy to extort labour from reluctant slaves. The addition to the trading capital of Brazil and Cuba which this measure will secure will be great; the profits of slavery will be proportionably increased; and the motive to continue the atrocious system will thereby be strengthened.

But neither in Brazil nor in Cuba have the planters a greater supply of slaves than is required to meet the ordinary demands of commerce; and, as your lordship well knows, tens of thousands of additional slaves are annually imported into those countries to keep up the stock for present purposes. It must, therefore, be obvious, that an increased slave-trade will result from an increased demand for slave-produce. Your lordship is also unhappily too familiar with the atrocities of the slave-system in Cuba and Brazil, and of the dreadful traffic in human beings, which is rendered necessary by their continuance, to require information on that point; but whatever may be the intention, the effect of the proposed measure will be to render that traffic more necessary than ever, by increasing the demand for slave-produce, and by furnishing additional means for carrying it on.

It is in vain, the committee would observe, that it is urged that the guilt of continuing the atrocious system of slavery, belongs exclusively to the nations who sanction it by their laws and practice. That guilt, undoubtedly, is pre-eminently theirs; but they think it also attaches, in degree, to those who either directly or indirectly sustain it. But to open the British markets to the produce of this system, appears to the committee one of the most efficient means of sustaining it, and they venture to state, that, morally, great responsibility attaches itself to those who countenance such a procedure. Great Britain, the committee conceive, is no more dependent upon Cuba and Brazil at the present time for the supply of its sugars, than it has ever been. On the contrary, they are convinced, that were the duties on British, colonial, and foreign free-labour sugars equalized, and it became the settled policy of Government wholly to exclude those raised by slave-labour, the supply would be abundant—the system of slavery would receive a decided check, and not, improbably, at an early day be abandoned by the nations who now uphold it, for the purpose of enjoying extended commercial intercourse with this country.

It would have afforded the committee the highest satisfaction to have approached your lordship with their congratulations on your accession to the office of Prime Minister of these realms, rather than to have been compelled to enter their protest against one of the earliest measures of the Government; but believing that the liberty, the civilization, and happiness of millions of the human race is involved in the proposed measure, and that should it be carried into effect, it will prove disastrous to the cause of human freedom, no other course was open to them than frankly, yet respectfully, to lay before your lordship the sentiments they entertain.

I have the honour to be,

On behalf of the Committee, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

JOHN SCOBLE, *Secretary*.

Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
27, New Broad-street, July 17, 1846.

The NARRATIVE of the LIFE of FREDERICK DOUGLASS may now be obtained on application at the Anti-Slavery Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.—Also, a full Report of the PUBLIC MEETING, held at FINSBURY CHAPEL, on the 22nd May last.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROPOSED INTRODUCTION OF SUGAR, PRODUCED BY SLAVE LABOUR, FOR CONSUMPTION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. By G. W. ALEXANDER. Price Sixpence. London: CHARLES GILPIN, Bishopsgate-street.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 1st, 1846.

We need scarcely call the attention of our readers to the important protest against the introduction of the slave-grown sugars of the Spanish West India colonies and Brazil, which will be found at the commencement of the present number of the *Reporter*. The whole case is clearly put in that document; and although it has now been above a fortnight before the public, and has had a most extensive circulation, no one has, up to this time, successfully grappled with its facts, or destroyed its conclusions. Indeed the only formal attempt at refutation, that we have seen, is found in the elaborate letter of Mr. G. R. Porter, of the Board of Trade, to Mr. Joseph Sturge, inserted in the *Times* of the 27th ulto. That letter is full of assumptions and opinions, founded upon private information, and is in flat contradiction of all the authorities from Humboldt to Turnbull in relation to Cuba, and of the Reports of Her Majesty's Commissioners and Consular Agents, in relation both to that island and to the empire of Brazil. If any one doubt, whether the mortality connected with sugar growing in these countries be such as the protest represents it to be, we beg of them to turn to the sources of information which we have indicated, and they will be fully satisfied that the estimate given in that document is really below the truth.

With respect to the statement contained in the memorial of Messrs. Drake, Brothers and Co. of the Havana, to the Captain General of Cuba, it is sufficient to say that, at the time it was presented, 1843-4, so great was the glut of sugar in that island that Muscovadoes could be bought at about seven shillings the hundred weight, and that, but for the drought and hurricane which reduced the crop of last year from 200,000 to 80,000 tons, it would be as low in price now as it was then. It is therefore neither untrue nor absurd to say as they did, that with a duty of 50 per cent. above British colonial sugars, the British markets being open to them, they would obtain double the price for their sugars than they could then obtain.

On the other hand a zealous free-trader, a man of as ripe a judgment as Mr. Porter himself, into whose hands the protest has fallen, states that, after having attempted its confutation paragraph by paragraph, he had failed in his purpose, and therefore begged that his name might be attached to it.

But the protest needs neither defence nor explanation from us. The honoured names which are appended to it will be its chief recommendation. Those who originated it were not anxious that it should be numerously signed, but rather that it should be restricted, almost exclusively, to those who have long and conscientiously laboured in the anti-slavery cause; or who are officially connected with it at the present time. Else the signatures might have been multiplied to a great extent. No doubt there are many, in different parts of the kingdom, of the class to which we have referred, who would be glad that their names should be added to the present list. In that case, by communicating their wishes to the office of the Anti-slavery Society, their names will be duly registered.

The blow has been struck. The House of Commons has decided, by a large majority, that the blood-stained sugars of Brazil and Cuba shall be admitted into the British markets. Had this great question been discussed on its merits, and in view of those appalling facts with which it is associated, we feel persuaded that the decision of the House would have been the reverse of that which we have occasion to lament. But it was not so decided. The interests of party have been allowed to predominate over the interests of

humanity; and by a political manœuvre, disgraceful alike to those who counselled, and to those who submitted to it, the resolutions of the Government have been carried. The slave-masters and slave-traffickers of Brazil have won a triumph in the British Legislature which will fill their hearts with joy, whilst the poor Africans who toil on their plantations, or suffer the extremity of human anguish in the holds of their slave-ships, will send fresh cries of woe to Heaven for the new miseries which will be inflicted on them, to meet, what are called, the necessities of commerce, and to add another half million of pounds sterling to Her Majesty's Exchequer! Surely it was enough that our commerce with foreign nations was already polluted with the guilt of slavery, without adding this new ingredient to deepen and blacken its character. We ought, in all conscience, to have made a stand here; and then earnestly and zealously have sought the means of supplying our markets with the free productions of free countries. And who, with a competent knowledge of the subject, would have denied the practicability of this being done?

By some the proposed measure is designated as one of free trade. We utterly deny this. Let the principles of free trade be applied to it, and it will not bear the test. Free trade, as we understand it, is freedom of commerce with all nations, without restrictions or imposts, in all things honest and honourable. But the principle of this measure not only imposes duties varying from three-halfpence to twopence farthing per pound on sugar, but sanctions the principle of dealing in articles which bear the imprint, too legible to be mistaken, that this is THE PRODUCE OF PIRACY AND FELONY. Yes, we affirm that the sugars of Cuba and Brazil are stolen goods—stolen under circumstances the most atrocious and revolting; and, however much it may be attempted to be softened down, every bale of cotton, every bag of coffee, every hogshead of tobacco, and every box of sugar imported from slave countries, is the produce of rapine and murder most foul and heart-rending. Let any one who doubts this, examine the evidence which the system of slavery everywhere presents. Let them but cast their eyes over the statements drawn from recent official documents contained in the present number of the *Reporter*, and deny it if they can.

By others it is affirmed, that the effect of the proposed measure will be the reverse of that which we contemplate. They gravely tell us that the letting in of the slave-produced sugars of Brazil and Cuba will annihilate both the slave-trade and slavery; that, so far from extending and stimulating these infamous crimes, it will so increase and stimulate the production of free industry, as to render the former unprofitable, and the triumph of the latter inevitable. They go upon the assumption that free labour is, *under all circumstances*, cheaper than slave-labour; and, on this assumption, for which they have no proofs, they support the policy recommended by the Government. We hold that free labour is cheaper than slave-labour, *the conditions being equal*; but beyond that, no Abolitionist of any name has ever gone. That warm friends of the anti-slavery cause have adopted the view to which we have referred, sincerely and conscientiously, we have no doubt. Their views and ours are now to be tested, or, at least, when the duties on British colonial and foreign slave-produce are fully equalized, will be tested; and the result will prove whether the freedom, civilization, and happiness of the African race is secured by the new measure; or whether that unhappy race is still doomed to be the victims of European and American cupidity. In the meantime we would remind our friends, that every relaxation of duties on slave-produce has hitherto been followed by an increased demand for it, and a consequent increase in slavery and the slave-trade. The United States is a pregnant example of this fact. In 1790, the exports of cotton wool were 189,316lbs., and the slave population, 657,582; in 1845, the exports exceeded 560,000,000lbs., and the slaves had reached the fearful amount of 2,500,000. In 1790, it was seriously believed that the period of general emancipation was near—that slavery was not only criminal, but unprofitable; whilst, in 1845, it is clung to by the southern statesmen as a cherished institution, the chief corner-stone of the American republic, and a great source of wealth and power to them and their adherents. So far are they from feeling the force of the arguments adduced against slavery, that they scorn them, and laugh at the doctrine of moral suasion, whilst you make the system profitable to them. They pocket your gold, and with that are enabled to perpetuate the huge iniquity, and to extend its dominion over the newly-acquired province of Texas.

By others, it is stated, that our fiscal policy in relation to slave-grown sugars has not abolished slavery, nor suppressed the slave-trade; and that, such being the case, it were wiser and better to let Cuban and Brazilian sugars enter into the general consumption of the country than to continue their exclusion. We admit the fact, but cannot adopt the conclusion. Had our fiscal policy been one which should have embraced the entire exclusion of slave-produce, there can be little doubt that slavery would long since have tottered to its fall; but such has not been our policy. Nevertheless it is unquestionably true that the exclusion of slave-grown sugars has tended very greatly to weaken the system of slavery, by reducing its profits, and has so embarrassed the operations of Cuban and Brazilian commerce, that the parties interested therein were willing to come to terms for the complete cessation of the slave-trade, and for the gradual, if not immediate, abolition of slavery itself. Mr. Consul Cowper in a despatch addressed to Lord Aberdeen, four years ago, says, "In this sugar-growing province (Pernambuco), the policy of Her Majesty's Government is a matter of the utmost interest amongst the proprietors. I have taken considerable pains to inform myself of their feelings upon the subject, and I find all the most intelligent anticipating that Her Majesty's Government are awaiting the negotiations for the renewal of the treaty, and will then demand from Brazil, as a *quid pro quo* for the admission of her sugar, the specified mention of some time for the emancipation of her slaves. The proprietors not only seem prepared for, but satisfied with such an arrangement. I have mentioned this with the view of informing your lordship of the popular impressions on this deeply interesting subject." Last year Mr. Consul Newcomen, in a despatch to Lord Aberdeen, writes as follows:—"The subjecting of free-labour sugar to an unequal competition with that produced by slaves, is to be deprecated on many grounds. I have already stated, that the admission of Brazilian sugar to the English market at a low rate of duty, in the actual state of things, would indubitably give an impetus to the slave-trade." And he adds, "I know many of the best informed Brazilians entertain the opinion expressed on a late occasion in no very private manner, that the Imperial Government must, sooner or later, not only concede to England all she requires towards the full and effectual suppression of the slave-trade, but must also bind herself down to the final abolition of slavery throughout the empire at a future period; and that it would be much more politic to do so now, when she may hope for corresponding concessions from Great Britain, than to wait till driven by necessity into granting what she had refused to the dictates of humanity." The concessions have now been made without the *quid pro quo*; and the slave-masters and slave-traffickers of Cuba and Brazil will exult over the defeated exertions and hopes of British philanthropy, and add new bitterness to the sorrows of their oppressed slaves by telling them that, henceforth, they are to be lacerated by the whip, and toil under the yoke, in order to produce sugar for the humane legislators and Christian people of Great Britain.

We beg most earnestly to call the attention of our readers to the following memorial presented to Lord John Russell on the subject of immigration into the British colonies, viewed in connexion with the proposed measure for the introduction of slave-grown produce into the British markets. The petition which follows, bearing on the same subject, is intended to be presented to the House of Commons on an early day. We commend this grave subject to the care of all our friends, and respectfully beg them to use their utmost exertions to prevent the scheme contemplated by the Government and the West Indians from being carried into effect.

IMMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD JOHN RUSSELL, HER MAJESTY'S FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, &c., &c.

MY LORD,

It is with extreme regret that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have learned that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government, in conjunction with the measure for the introduction of slave-grown sugars into the British markets,

to relax the orders in council, and the ordinances and laws founded thereupon, now in force in the colonies, which relate to contracts for labour; and to permit, henceforth, indentures or engagements for labour to be made for a period not exceeding twelve months, with the natives of Africa and Hindostan, in their respective countries. The avowed object of this measure is to increase the supply of labour for sugar cultivation; and, thereby to compensate the British planters for any losses they may be presumed to sustain in the competition with Cuba and Brazil, with which they are now threatened.

Into the question of the sufficiency of the supply of labour in the British colonies for all necessary purposes, it were useless to enter, inasmuch as the conviction which your lordship has publicly avowed, is entirely opposed to that supposition; but the committee would not merely reiterate their well-known opinion that an adequate amount of labour can be obtained in them, on fair terms, but that they are strengthened in that opinion by practical men, residing in the colonies, whose successful management of estates, and intimate knowledge of the question, warrant them in the conclusion to which they have arrived—namely, that it is not labour but capital, and the necessary skill to apply it properly, that are the great wants of the colonies at the present time. They, in common with the committee, are therefore opposed to the further introduction of foreign labourers, both on account of the great expense which it involves, and of the manifold evils and embarrassments which it must ultimately entail. The committee would further remind your lordship that, in addition to the rapid increase of the emancipated slaves, by the excess of births over deaths, there have been introduced into the British colonies under various immigration schemes, not less than 150,000 of the natives of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; and that these labourers have displaced a large amount of the native cultivators, who either could not, or would not work for the low wages offered to them; and hence have directed their attention to other occupations.

But, my lord, whether the supply of labour were adequate or inadequate for the service of the colonies, the committee never can be reconciled to the immigration schemes which, at present, have the sanction of the Government, and especially with the new, and, in their opinion, most objectionable feature intended to be superadded.

For, 1. The immigrants both from Asia and Africa are allowed to be introduced into the British colonies, without any provision for an equality of the sexes, which, as your lordship will remember, was originally considered to be indispensable. This single circumstance the committee consider to be fatal to any scheme of immigration whatsoever: for, to create a vast disparity of the sexes by flooding the colonies with male labourers, must lead to results totally subversive of morality and social order. If, convinced of this, the local authority have recently encouraged a larger introduction of women, it should be recollected that even now they do not bear a larger proportion than 15 to 20 per cent. in comparison with the men introduced, and that many, if not most of them, are abandoned women. But the evils of this system do not terminate with the immigrants. The emancipated classes are deeply affected by them; and the polluting and demoralizing influence of idolatrous and sensual Hindoos, joined to the revolting heathenism of the native Africans just liberated from the holds of slave-ships, must be extensively felt, and be productive of bitter fruits.

2. The India labourers, decoyed in a multitude of instances from their native homes, have, for the most part, left behind them their wives and families in circumstances the most deplorable and heart-rending. Among a people not influenced by moral principles, the absence of years must deaden the natural affections; and the probability is, that the families from whom they had been separated will be, in the majority of cases, neglected or abandoned. Besides which, the vast mortality which has attended this system of Coolie immigration, must have deprived thousands of women and children of their natural protectors, leaving them widows and orphans, in a state of extreme misery and destitution.

3. Under the present arrangements the Africans liberated by the Mixed Commission or Vice-Admiralty Courts at Sierra Leone, cannot be said to be free agents in disposing of themselves. Immediately on their liberation by sentence of these courts, the alternative is presented them of either entering into engagements with the agents of the West Indians, or of quitting the colony. Considering the circumstances in which they arrive there, the provision formerly made for their reception and education, the committee cannot but regard this mode of dealing with them

as arbitrary and cruel; and, as such, ought not to be persisted in. The African is surely as much entitled to protection at Sierra Leone, as he would be in England.

4. But, my lord, the removal from India and Africa of emigrants to the British colonies does not take place at the expense of those who are benefited thereby. They bear little or nothing of the burden of debt incurred in carrying on their gigantic schemes of immigration. Having the legislative power in the colonies in their hands, and receiving the sanction of the Home Government, they have laid heavy taxes principally on the labouring classes there, and with the proceeds bring in hordes of foreign labourers to compete with them in the labour market. The committee confess, that this strikes them as being an act of the grossest injustice, which ought to be instantly remedied. But not content with creating and applying a surplus revenue to this service, the planter-legislators have passed loan ordinances, which have received the sanction of the Crown, mortgaging the colonial revenues for a quarter of a century to come, and entailing other liabilities which even then are not likely to be discharged.

Against a free immigration of labourers to the British colonies, the committee have never objected, provided it were carried on at the expense of the West India body, and subjected to such regulations as would prevent fraudulent contracts, and secure the just rights of the immigrants. But the committee lament to say, that instead of this, it appears to be the intention of Government still further to foster schemes of immigration, and, in addition to British India, to make the British settlements on the west coast of Africa depôts for the collection of Africans, from the surrounding districts and the interior, for the purpose of feeding the West India colonies with labourers. That this will indirectly increase the slave-trade, and give rise to a modified system of slavery in the British colonies, is not, the committee think, without just grounds, dreaded by many; and certainly, should the contracts for labour be extended, as the West India body so earnestly desire, to three or five years, slavery will, practically, be re-established.

Having thus laid before your lordship their views, the committee would respectfully entreat you to pause before you finally give your sanction to measures which they believe to be fraught with evil consequences to Africa and India, which are unjust to the great body of the colonists, which must prove injurious to the immigrants themselves, and which are unworthy the character of this great nation.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

On behalf of the Committee,

Your obedient humble Servant,

JOHN SCOBLE, *Secretary*.

Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

July 30, 1846.

PETITION.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled: The Petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

Sheweth—That your petitioners have learned with the deepest regret, that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to afford new facilities for the introduction of Africans and Coolies into the British emancipated colonies, under contracts for labour made in their respective countries.

That your petitioners regard this departure from the principle of the contract laws now in force in the colonies, as an abandonment of the most important guarantee, that the contracts for labour entered into by these ignorant persons, shall neither be fraudulent, nor involve the forfeiture of their just rights.

That your petitioners regard the schemes of colonial immigration now in force, as unjust towards the emancipated classes, who are heavily taxed, to bring foreign labourers into competition with themselves; injurious in many important respects to the imported immigrants; and immoral in its tendency, inasmuch as the disparity of the sexes which it creates, is the fruitful cause of the most deplorable and unnatural vices.

That your petitioners justly dread that the attempt to make the British colonies in Africa depôts for African labourers, will give rise to a new species of slave-trading, and to new forms of slavery; and afford a justification to foreign countries now deeply implicated in these crimes, to continue their nefarious practices.

That your petitioners, therefore, pray your honourable House to refuse its sanction to any scheme for the supply of foreign labour to the British colonies, which is not wholly prosecuted at the expense of the parties whom it is intended to benefit; which does not provide for an equality of the sexes, and the protection of the just rights of the immigrants; and which does not declare all contracts invalid, which are made out of the colonies, and not, as at present, sanctioned by the local authorities.

And your petitioners will ever pray,

THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

SUGAR DUTIES.

The following letter is a reply to one from Mr. Porter, of the Board of Trade, which appeared in the *Times* of the 24th instant.

TO GEORGE R. PORTER.

Dear Friend,—I observe in *The Times* of yesterday a letter from thyself, addressed to me, in reference to a protest against the proposed measure of the present Government for the admission of the slave-grown sugars of Cuba and Brazil into the British market; and to which, in conjunction with a number of the friends of the anti-slavery cause, my name was attached. My regret that I am opposed in opinion to one with whom I so cordially unite on many great public questions, is lessened by the conviction that it will not disturb the cordiality of feeling which has long subsisted between us.

Though I do not admit the accuracy of thy conclusions with regard to the facts and reasoning on the protest, I will not now advert to them; as it is far more important, at the present moment, that the attention of the public should be confined to the question of the justice and sound policy of excluding slave-grown produce, than to the consistency or inconsistency of any of its advocates. And it is to this point I propose to confine my few remarks.

I affirm, to the fullest extent, the principles of free trade in all legitimate commerce; but it is universally admitted that stolen property cannot come under this description, and that both individuals and nations who recognize Christian equity as the basis of their conduct, must refuse to participate in the guilt of the thief by receiving or using the stolen property. Now, the great point at issue, as a question of principle, probably turns upon whether it can be proved that the known produce of slave-labour ought to be treated as stolen property. To come to a just conclusion upon this subject, it is necessary briefly to advert to the system by which tropical slave cultivation is carried on. The victims of this system it is well known, are innocent human beings, who have been torn from their native land in violation of every law, human and divine, or are the descendants of those who have been so torn, and that they are compelled to uncompensated toil by brutal coercion. If the victims of this system were English men and women, and especially if they were the wives, the sons, the daughters, the brothers, the sisters of our legislators, who had been kidnapped, and, after enduring the horrors of the middle passage, were toiling and bleeding on the sugar estates of Cuba and Brazil, we should not only have a unanimous vote in Parliament against taking into the consumption of England the produce of their labour, but vengeance would probably be taken not less fearful than that formerly inflicted upon Algiers for holding a few Europeans in slavery. Now, those who affirm that Christian brotherhood is not confined to clime or colour, contend, that a similar rule of action should be applied to the African race, as though the sufferers were our own countrymen or our own kindred.

The advocates of this position are told of the inconsistency of keeping out slave-grown sugar, while slave-grown cotton, coffee, &c., is admitted; they fully admit and lament this inconsistency; and, were it in their power, would prevent it, but all they can at present do, is to exert themselves to support those who would check the extension of the appalling consequences resulting from the use of slave grown produce, and they are sorry to see honest and enlightened men, with the awful facts before their eyes, of a free trade in cotton in the space of fifty years adding about 2,000,000 to the slave population of the United States, and fostering a great and most revolting internal slave-trade, and yet supporting a similar course with regard to sugar. The Abolitionists, as a body, are not only no parties to the sanction of colonial monopoly, but many of them signed a protest against the grant of £20,000,000 to the slave-holders in 1833 from the national resources, as unjust to the people of this country, and also as giving a sanction to the unrighteous principle, that man could hold property in his fellow-man.

It has been asked if we would now stop the imports of American cotton and throw millions of our fellow-countrymen out of employment; but the question now before the public is, whether, with the fearful consequence of the trade in slave cotton before us, they are prepared to take the national guilt of pursuing the same course with respect to sugar.

It is assumed by a part of the public press, that the voice of the

industrious unrepresented portion of the people of England is in favour of the admission of the slave-grown produce. From some knowledge of them I can, with great confidence, express quite a different opinion, as far as the facts have been fairly brought before them. This has not as yet been generally done; but at a recent public meeting at Birmingham, which was numerously attended, the following resolutions were passed without a dissentient voice:—

"That this meeting, considering that to open the British markets to the importations of the sugar of Cuba and Brazil would strengthen and extend the atrocious system of slavery which prevails in those countries, aggravate, to a fearful degree, the sufferings of their slaves, and greatly stimulate the slave-trade, feel it to be their duty to offer every measure that would have that effect their most strenuous opposition.

"That nevertheless they feel it to be equally their duty to recommend to Parliament the propriety and necessity of opening the ports to the reception of sugars the *bona fide* produce of free labour, whether from the British colonies and territories abroad or from foreign countries, on equal duties, so that they may come into full competition with each other, and advance the cause of human freedom throughout the world."

It is an unjust imputation upon our labouring population to suppose that they have not sufficient sympathy with those who are in misery and suffering to make them willing to submit to any reasonable sacrifice rather than be supplied with articles watered with the tears and stained with the blood of the slave. This sacrifice, however, is not necessary, for I need scarcely say that a slave-population are the least consumers of manufactures; and that if a small portion of the money spent in the fruitless and impolitic, and, as many hold, unchristian attempt to put down the slave-trade by armed cruisers, had been directed to the encouragement of the products of free labour in Africa, and if a fraction of the treasure which has been spent in the destruction of human life in India were applied in doing justice to her population, and encouraging the cultivation of her soil, and in the improvement of her means of communication, and if we placed the slave-holder, as he ought to be, on the same footing as the slave-trader in a moral and commercial point of view, by refusing to take the fruits of his guilty traffic, the day is not far distant when all the world would be cheaply supplied with the products of free labour, and slavery would sink for ever from its own inherent weight.

It is from a conviction, on deliberate consideration of the subject, that the principles of free trade are so trampled under foot by slavery, that the known consumption of its productions is a violation of the law of "doing unto others as we would that others should do unto us," and that our government, by the course they are adopting, are offering a bribe to the receiver of the stolen man at the same time that they send armed cruisers to treat those who steal him as a pirate; and that as the immediate effect of the admission of the sugars of Brazil and Cuba for consumption in Great Britain, will be an enormous increase to the extent and horrors of the slave-trade and slavery, some of us have felt bound, uninfluenced by party or personal considerations, to use every legitimate means to oppose the proposed measure. We shall thus have the consolation of reflecting that if it be carried—which we fervently hope may not be the case—the crimes and miseries which result from it were evils we could not avert.

I am, with unabated esteem and respect,
London, 7th month, 25th. JOSEPH STURGE.

BIRMINGHAM ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this Society was held in Ebenezer Chapel, Birmingham, on the 29th ult. Rev. JAMES ROBERTS in the chair. The attendance was very large. On the platform were several distinguished friends of the anti-slavery cause, together with Mr. Frederick Douglass and Mr. Buffum, from the United States.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced the business of the meeting, the report was read. It expressed the pleasure felt by the committee, in recording unequivocal signs of advancement of the cause of emancipation—regretted the annexation of Texas, but hoped that good would spring out of the apparent evil—and also regretted that the Free Church of Scotland should have countenanced the sin of slave-holding, by receiving contributions from slave-holders—referred to the death of Mr. Torrey, the progress of the anti-slavery cause in France, the abolition of slavery in Tunis, the increase of slavery in Cuba and Brazil, &c. &c.

The Rev. THOS. SWAN moved, and WM. BOULBEE, Esq. seconded, that the report be received, which was carried unanimously.

RD. CADBURY, Esq. moved, and the Rev. J. HAMMOND seconded the motion:—

"That whilst this meeting congratulates the friend of human freedom throughout the world on the gratifying fact, that slavery and the slave-trade, in all their forms, have been legally abolished in every part of the British empire, this meeting nevertheless considers it to be a sacred duty to those who have been thus emancipated, to use every legitimate means to secure to them the practical enjoyment of their liberty, the protection of just laws, and an impartial administration of justice."

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced Mr. Frederick Douglass, who met with a highly encouraging reception. He moved:—

3rd. "That this meeting has learned with deep regret, the decease of the Rev. Charles Torrey, in the Penitentiary, at Baltimore, Maryland, to which he had been sentenced for a period of six years, by the criminal court of that state, for having aided certain fugitive slaves in their escape from bondage. That they consider the laws of American slavery, which render it criminal for free men to counsel and aid slaves in the recovery of their freedom, and in other ways to instruct and befriend them, as utterly disgraceful to a people professing republican institutions, and their reverence for the righteous principles and benign spirit of Christianity.

"That this meeting would earnestly, yet respectfully recommend to every section of the professedly Christian church in the United States, to separate itself from all participation in, or sanction of, the system of slavery, by a solemn and decisive act, and thus free itself from the charge of upholding an institution, which is entirely at variance with natural justice and the law of Christian love."

Mr. DOUGLASS gave a very affecting account of the persecution and sufferings of Mr. Torrey, and spoke on the general question of slavery in very eloquent and impressive terms. We are sorry our space prevents us from making further allusion to it.

B. THOMAS, Esq. seconded the motion, which was cordially adopted.

Mr. J. H. WILSON wished it to be understood, that the people of Scotland generally had no sympathy with the Free Church in reference to their conduct with the slave-holding churches.

EDWIN STURGE, Esq. then moved:—

4th. "That this meeting deeply regrets that the deputation of the Free Church of Scotland, in their recent visit to America, should have suffered themselves to receive the contributions of slave-holders in aid of the religious freedom of themselves and their brethren. They would therefore confidently hope that, in accordance with the feeling so strongly expressed by a numerous portion of that body, they will return to the donors those gifts which have so deeply compromised the reputation of the church they were deputed to represent."

Mr. BUFFUM seconded the motion, and showed the false position of the Free Church, and the duty of the Christian churches of England to demand that the money should be returned.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

M. J. H. WILSON moved, and the Rev. J. HOOPER seconded the motion:

5th. "That this meeting feel it to be their bounden duty again earnestly to protest against the schemes of African and Asiatic immigration into the British colonies, as at present regulated, as fraught with injustice to the emancipated classes, with inhumanity to the immigrants, and with most deplorable immorality; and would respectfully call on Her Majesty's Government, wholly, and without delay, to abandon them. They have also to record their conviction, that the present system of attempting the suppression of the slave-trade by naval armaments, is unsound in principle, a profuse waste of life and money, and in its direct effects found to aggravate the miseries of the victims of the traffic."

It was carried unanimously.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., the president of the association, moved, and W. M. RICHARDS, Esq. seconded:—

6th. "That this meeting, considering that to open the British markets to the importation of the sugars of Cuba and Brazil, would strengthen and extend the atrocious system of slavery which prevails in those countries, aggravate to a fearful degree the sufferings of their slaves, and greatly stimulate the slave-trade, feel it to be their duty to offer every measure that would have that effect, their most strenuous opposition.

"That, nevertheless, they feel it to be equally their duty to recommend to Parliament the propriety and necessity of opening the ports to the reception of sugars, the *bona fide* produce of free labour, whether from the British colonies and territories abroad, or from foreign countries, on equal duties; so that they may come into full competition with each other, and advance the cause of human freedom throughout the world."

The motion was carried unanimously.

Thanks having been passed to the Chairman, the meeting separated.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

House of Lords, July 27th.

SUGAR DUTIES.

LORD BROUGHAM said, that in pursuance of the notice which he had given, he had the honour of presenting to their lordships a petition from one of the most venerable individuals who at present was left upon the earth, Thomas Clarkson—a petition which he presented as the president of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. To all who were acquainted with his great performances in the cause of justice, humanity, and sound policy, he (Lord Brougham) would venture to say, that although, according to the forms of the House, it was only the petition of an individual, it would have the weight of societies and multitudes. When he considered that his venerable friend had for upwards of three score years, and still continued steadily, without wavering, and looking back, except to profit by past experience, without deviating in his course, but constantly looking forward to the end and aim of his whole being, namely, promoting the cause of virtue, justice, and truth; when he considered this, surely he had a right to say that a petition never had been presented which had been more entitled to the respectful attention of that House. His venerable friend prayed that, if ever there should be presented to their lordships a measure for letting in foreign sugar, the produce of slave-labour—in short, the sugar of Brazil and Cuba—upon equal terms with free grown and colonial sugar, he prayed that their lordships would turn a deaf ear to such a proposition, come it from what quarter it might, and let no views of temporary expediency, no wretched plans of so-called liberal policy interfere with that illustrious course in which this country, under the guidance of the petitioner, had so long struggled to put down the execrable African slave-trade, and strike off,

all the world over, the fetters of the slave. His venerable friend was the advocate for repealing all differential duties between foreign and colonial produce, provided such foreign produce was raised by free, and not by manacled hands, so that in letting it in they did not restore to its pristine state that infernal slave-traffic, which sixty-one years ago, his venerable friend commenced his attempt to abolish. That they should be discussing the question of the slave-trade in any shape in 1846 staggered him; but a great measure had been proposed—great both in a commercial and financial point of view—which, for the first time, was to introduce into the markets of England the produce of slave countries on the same terms as that of free-labour countries, and thus encourage the African slave-trade. That they should revive and stimulate and promote this accursed traffic was a question of much graver importance than any which they had been debating for the last six months, and in comparison to which every other measure went into utter insignificance. It was an unfortunate time to give up our hold upon those countries. There was a glut of sugar, said the Messrs. Drake, a highly respectable house in the Havannah, about three years ago, which reduced the price to 7s. 6d. per cwt., or three farthings per pound; and representations were made to the Government of the necessity of putting down the slave-trade, with a view to open the British market and get rid of their glut. Our consular agent (Mr. Cooper) said: "I have taken great pains to inform myself of the feeling of the government and planters on this subject, and all the most intelligent are anticipating that her Britannic Majesty's Government are awaiting negotiations for a renewal of the treaty, and will then demand from Brazil, as a *quid pro quo*, for the admission of her sugars, the specified mention of some time for the emancipation of her slaves. The proprietors not only seem prepared for, but satisfied with such an arrangement." How little did they suspect that at the time when they were thus prepared to begin the abolition of the slave-trade, as the price of access into our market, that they were about to have it given to them for nothing, and to be told that their sugar would be received without calling upon them to stop one single negro of the imported wretches from Africa, or strike off one link from their fetters in America! He need not argue the case further; nevertheless, so rife was delusion on the subject, that he felt bound to sweep away the cobwebs. To say that any sugar would come from Louisiana was absurd—they had a market at home, and Louisiana could not supply America. If the proposed measure passed, Brazil and Cuba would instantly increase their produce thirty or forty thousand tons a year; and that would not only be wrung from the earth, but, *justissima tellus*, wrung from it by fettered hands. (Hear.) The object of the bill was, in point of fact, to encourage the planters of Cuba and the Brazils to bring over yearly from Africa 40,000 human beings, who were at present free, and make them slaves. It may be said enough had been done to put down the slave-trade—that by the force of the treaty with France, and by exertions of the combined squadron, a great deal had been done for its suppression. And it was alleged that the increased price of the slaves was an additional proof of their success. Their own commissioner from Havannah reported that there were 10,000 slaves imported last year, and he expressed regret that the hurricane and the glut during the preceding year had caused no diminution in the exertions of those who were engaged in the slave-trade. He had the greatest admiration of General Valdez, a former governor of Cuba, and his conduct contrasted singularly with that of General O'Donnell, who had done everything in his power to promote the slave-trade. The argument advanced in favour of the contemplated change was, that they no longer had enough of sugar for the consumption of this country. When the question was of pounds, shillings, and pence, of profit and cheapness, such an argument might be of some weight; but when it was a question of good faith, of honesty, of humanity, and religion, he despised such an argument, and denied that such a consideration should occupy their attention one moment. But he denied the fact. He denied that they had an insufficient quantity at present for their own consumption. Next came another point, which was worthy the attention of all who took an interest in it. It was said that they would not take sugar, and they were asked why they admitted coffee, by some imaginative and witty individuals, who brought the question home by saying that they let the poor man luxuriate in his dish of coffee while they grudged him sugar enough to sweeten it. That was not an argument, it was a mere figure. He did not grudge the poor dear man his sugar, but he should have sugar, and cheap sugar too, not the sugar which was slave-grown, and the sweetness of which was chequered with the blood of the African. Then the argument used was nothing more than a mere fallacy; for it was not because mischief was continued in one respect that they were right in refusing to remedy some other. When they brought him measures with regard to coffee or cotton of a similar character, then he might act in a manner which would appear to be quite consistent with his present conduct. That was an argument which did not apply to the petitioners, or to the great body of the English people. He was not one of those who strained principles until they cracked beneath them. It was one thing to have new measures proposed to them, and another to have measures brought before them to carry out old principles. This measure, with respect to the admission of slave-grown sugar, was never attempted before. He did not feel himself bound, because he did not find it possible to go further with a certain principle in a certain case, to abandon it in all cases. He defied any person, either in commerce or in finance, to carry out such a theory without doing great mischief. It would be a relief to him, and also to their lordships, if he were to turn from his own feeble and unauthoritative statement to the statements of one whose candour was only equalled by his steadiness of principle, and of one whose opinion could not be biased by any party consideration. He alluded to the Lord Chief Justice of England; and he confessed that when he reflected on the high purity of that great magistrate, and when he considered that he could be labouring under no bias with regard to any measures introduced by any political party, he came prepared and refreshed before he consulted his authority. The following was the communication of the Lord Chief Justice, whose absence he regretted on the present occasion:

"HOLYHEAD, Friday.—When we were talking of the new Government to be formed on the expulsion of Sir Robert Peel's, one observation that occurred to us all was, that it could not go to the country with any great liberal measure at the present time. We forgot the great advantage that a liberal government would possess in appealing to the people to restore the slave-trade. What capital speeches may be made, what

powerful addresses from the priests of all denominations, what attractive inscriptions for banners and cockades! 'Do as you would not be done by. Do evil that good may come,' the evil unlimited; the good, sordid and doubtful; 'a free passage from Africa to Brazil, the liberty of the lash, &c. Argument is nothing in this case, the right and wrong are clear. The only question is, whether the right is to be violated, and the wrong done by England which affects a moral influence over the destinies of the world. Argument is not attempted on the other side—nothing but a miserable deduction from the force of ours: we cannot do all the good, therefore are free to encourage all the evil for our own lucre. By oversight, perhaps by design, a certain amount of evil is uncontrollable and incorrigible; therefore, what we can control, correct, probably extinguish, certainly keep down and greatly diminish, we are free to encourage and promote. As to the great experiment to be tried between free and slave labour, I am convinced that it will be decided in favour of the latter. If it was cheaper forty years ago to buy than to breed, so it is now. The experiment never can be tried on equal terms. But, indeed, I take this cloak to be a thin one, and that the real notion is, that slave trading cannot be put down, and 'common sense' must connive at its continuance, and the feeling against it is either affectation or insane fanaticism. Frequent changes of government are assuredly evils; but what comparison between the evil of such changes and that of one month's existence of the slave-trade? What is all that could befall all our parties and their members compared with the suffering which is inflicted by the success of the slavers? I know these things appear extravagant, but they are the real facts; and our habitual indifference does not disprove them, but shows to what extent our minds have been corrupted and debauched by this long abuse of our own wealth or power. I blush to read the piddling illustration from receivers of stolen goods, and lament the quarter whence it came. Indeed, I could shed tears at the thought that the triumph which I hope to witness must be gained at the expense of those who still derive all the popularity that belongs to them from the name of Fox. I wonder what Mr. Fox would have said in 1806 if any one had predicted that, after abolishing the trade, England should become the principal fomentor of it, and the principal customer in the market for the sale of human beings. Or, in the great year when the Act of Emancipation passed, and England paid twenty millions to those of her sons whom her own evil practice had betrayed into the relation of master to slaves, what if Parliament had been moved to give a new stimulus to the trade, to try a great experiment in political economy at the sacrifice of some generations of negroes! The question of protection fades to nothing beside these considerations; but I cannot help thinking that the withdrawal of it from our countrymen in Jamaica would be an unjust proceeding, both to white and black. I am sorry to write so loosely on a subject like this, and so very tamely on a proposal which moves me far more deeply than any that has been brought before Parliament in my time."

This question was a question of slave-trade, and it was upon the grounds that it would be calculated to increase that awful traffic that he objected to this most detestable measure. He would not bring back to their recollection the associations connected with that slave-trade, or make any allusion to the cruel manner in which they were treated on board the slave-ships, where they were used as wild beasts, but it suited to tell their lordships, that if he had the tongue of an angel he could not speak more strongly of the infamy of the system than by simply stating, that with those uncivilized creatures who were the objects of this inhumanity, and who, though they did not see so largely, or think so deeply, yet for the moment they felt more acutely than civilized people, who had more to attract their attention and interrupt their emotions, it was a thing which admitted of no bounds to their joy when they beheld one of their brethren in suffering thrown overboard, because they believed it to be a relief to him to be released from the punishment of continuing to share their sufferings. That was a matter of daily occurrence on board a slave-ship. He could not more amply express all the innumerable horrors and the innumerable crimes of which the slave-ship was the author, than by stating that one fact. They pretended not to receive the crew the slavers brought over; but by opening the markets of this country to Brazil and Cuba sugar, the slave-trade was encouraged, and we became accessories after the fact to the guilt and violence of the slave-trader. One argument had astonished him not a little—that the free-traders were the true abolitionists, and would abolish slavery effectually in their own way. They admitted that the consumption of foreign sugar would encourage and increase the African slave-trade for a time; but such was their abundant confidence in their own theories of political economy, they had no doubt whatever that the result would be to set up free labour against slave labour, and to abolish both slavery and the slave-trade. Great comfort this to the wretches who were now hunted, captured, tortured, and murdered, to know that, in the third generation, the doctrines of political economy might turn out to be right, and that other people, a century hence, would not be hunted and tortured as they had been. While there was something terrific in this presumptuous confidence, the argument by which such a result was attempted to be proved was ridiculous. It was said that free labour, if encouraged, would supplant slave labour. Under equal circumstances it might do so; but the circumstances were not equal, and hence the gross and outrageous fallacy. Here, one country had free labour, without access to the African market; the other had slave labour, with access to the African market; and under such circumstance slave labour was absolutely certain to carry the day against free labour, for every one knew that the slave-owners found it more profitable to work out their slaves and buy more, than to keep up the supply by sparing them and breeding on the estate; just as certain post masters in this country used to find it more lucrative to buy cattle and work them out, than to breed and save their horses. So long as Brazil and Cuba were allowed access to the African market, so long would slave labour have the better of free labour. He earnestly hoped that their lordships would not treat this as a mere commercial question, but one which involved all the best interests of the country, religion, justice, humanity, sound policy, and above all, the national character, credit, and honour.

After a short reply from the MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, the petition was ordered to lie on the table.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, July 21st.

SUGAR DUTIES.—**LORD JOHN RUSSELL** in rising to state the plan proposed by Her Majesty's Government for the settlement of the sugar duties, after various preliminary remarks, proceeded to state his reasons for the introduction of his measure. He considered that the great body of the public were sufferers from the increased price of sugar, a commodity, in the consumption of which no less than £12,000,000 a year is expended in this country—that the revenue is a considerable sufferer by the mode in which the duties are raised, and by the prohibition of certain classes of this article from the markets of this country. He considered it most desirable for the sake of the public, for the sake of trade and commerce in this country, to arrive at a permanent settlement. The arrangement of duties made last year by the late ministry had not produced the amount of revenue they had calculated upon, because they had limited the means of supply, and the quantity of foreign sugar they had expected had not come into the market. A reduction of 3s. 6d. a cwt. in the duty on foreign free-labour sugar as proposed by Sir R. Peel at the commencement of the session would not, he contended, produce any effect on the market; and he believed the only means of obtaining a sufficient supply was the admission of foreign sugars from countries whose produce we now excluded. But we are met by the argument that by admitting all foreign sugars they would encroach on the slave-trade, and that these are moral considerations which overbear all financial and commercial views. That argument he contended failed both in completeness and efficacy; because other articles, such as cotton, tobacco, copper, which are produced by slave-labour, are allowed to come into our markets without any restriction. Therefore, you do not actually carry into effect, or even pretend to carry into effect, those humane views which the persons who are most opposed to the admission of slave-produce constantly maintain. Such is your position with regard to the argument you have adopted, but you have not been able to keep upon that ground—you have not been able to say, "We will only admit sugar from our own colonies where slavery no longer exists." We have been obliged—the late ministry was obliged—by the insufficient supply of sugar from our colonies, to admit other countries with their productions; but besides this, you are obliged by the principles of your law and your treaties to admit other countries which have treaties with you, providing that their produce shall be received on the terms of the most favoured nation, into competition with the free-labour states. But there is a further and more fatal defect in these objections against the admission of slave-sugar. The resources of commerce are too great, and its spirit too strong, to be bound by stipulations against the interests of mankind. The merchants, therefore, take care that their slave sugar finds markets in other countries, and thus they obtain supplies in return which they can dispose of in our English markets. And this destroys the whole morality of the question. Therefore, for these reasons, I hold that the ground which Parliament has hitherto adopted is no longer tenable—and that you must in this, as in the various other instances, adopt the principle of removing restrictions, and we must admit into our markets the sugar of slave states. But though we have no sufficient reason to refuse to this country the saving of some two millions a year in the cost of their sugar, there are considerations connected with our West Indian interests, and also connected with the revenue, which forbid us to make an immediate equalization. The West India body urge with truth that the change from slavery to freedom was an immense revolution effected by authority of law—that it altogether changed the social state of the labourer, that it reduced the export of West Indian sugar at once from 4,000,000 cwt. a year to 2,500,000 cwt. (Hear, hear)—and that even the grant of 20,000,000*l.* has wholly failed to be a complete compensation for the losses of late years sustained by our colonists—(Hear)—who, while they have had to employ paid labour, and to endeavour to entice the negroes from those temptations to idleness which to men just released from bondage must have proved so alluring—(Hear)—have been not allowed to have recourse to other countries for the purpose of obtaining free labour. (Hear.) Sir, I think the colonists are justified in a great degree in their complaints. (Hear.) I do not think the Government of this country has been wrong—in being exceedingly jealous of the first beginnings of import of free labour into our colonies—from an apprehension lest the slave-trade should be revived. This was the reason for the Orders in Council prohibiting the import of labour from Africa—of the objections urged to the Orders in Council for the introduction of Hill Coolies into the West Indies. But there was not the less a grievance pressing on the West Indian proprietors—(Hear, hear, hear)—not the less is there a reason why they should demand a delay in the application of the principle of equalization. (Hear, hear, hear.) There are also other reasons connected with the revenue, which, by any sudden and abrupt change, would be seriously effected—through the cultivation being arrested, and the markets being deprived of supplies for a considerable period before the reduction took place. (Hear, hear.) Therefore we shall propose to the House, that while the prohibitory duty shall be at once removed, there shall be afterwards a slight annual change of the duty till it is entirely equalized. It was at first thought by those who represented the West Indian interest that the Government would be disposed to consent to a reduction of all foreign sugar to a duty of 23s. 4d. per cwt. on Muscovado, produced by free labour; but, on considering that, it appeared that with a slight increase of the price in the market of this country of foreign sugar, we should lose the benefit to the consumer. (Hear, hear.) The prices of foreign sugar at present (according to the printed paper laid upon the table) were, on the average of the year 1845

Brazilian, brown	20s. 5d. per cwt.
West Indian	32s. 8d. "

With a duty of 23s. 4d. per cwt. the prices at the Havannah would rise, and if they rose to 25s. per cwt. the price here be 48s. 4d.—greater than the 32s., with the 14s. duty on colonial sugar—(Hear)—and, even with a price of 24s. the sugar of the Havannah would be inadmissible. We, therefore propose that the following be the

NEW SCALE OF DUTIES ON THE IMPORT OF FOREIGN SUGAR (MUSCOVADO).

Present duty (prohibitory)	63s. 0d. per cwt.
From 5th of July, 1845 to 5th July, 1846	23s. 4d.
1846	21s.
1847	20s.

From 5th of July, 1848	1849	18s. 6d.
1849	1850	17s.
1850	1851	15s. 6d.
After 1851		14s.

to say nothing here of the advantage which might be derived from the still further reduction of the equalized duty from 14s. per cwt. As this is an operation to be carried on during the course of five years, in the present state of the revenue it would not be right for us on any speculation to ask for a considerable reduction of that duty. As to the distinction made last year of the "clayed" sugar, we have found that there is in the Havannah trade one sort of white "clayed" sugar, of which the price is 4s. per cwt. higher than the brown sugar, and for that single case, we propose to retain the distinction alluded to. But as on this and similar points we have not been able to derive so much information as we could have desired, in these points the measure may be varied by subsequent information. Similar reductions by similar gradations we propose in respect to molasses and refined sugar and double refined sugar. Sir, we have been pressed on the part of the West Indian interest with several claims to which they deem themselves entitled in the event of Parliament thus equalizing the duties on sugar. The first of these refers to immigration into the colonies. This was some years ago sanctioned from Sierra Leone; and there had been since considerable indulgences admitted. One material restriction remains, precluding the making of any contract in Sierra Leone binding on the West Indies. We think upon the whole that, as in the present position of the colonists, they are more in the power of the free negro labourers than the latter are in theirs, it will be well to allow these agreements to be entered into at Sierra Leone for a short period, not perhaps exceeding a year. As to a proposal that the emigrants should proceed from the coast of Africa severally and where we have no possessions, we cannot accede to such a proposal.

I have, now, Sir, stated generally what is the plan proposed by Her Majesty's Government with respect to the sugar duties, and, I should add, that I look to this plan as one which, so far as principle is concerned, will be a permanent settlement of these duties. I shall, therefore, propose, if these duties are carried in committee, to found upon them a Bill to make the duties permanent, and not leave the question to be debated yearly with all the uncertainty that belongs to it. I feel that the settlement of the question, which has been a source of anxiety to our West Indian merchants, and which has been so repeatedly a matter of debate, will be in a great degree a compensation for that. I do not propose the leaving a large amount of revenue dependent on the yearly votes of this House, as has hitherto been done.

In addition, he believed the colonists themselves would derive great advantage from unrestricted commerce.

Impelled by energy and invigorated by the spirit of freedom in commercial transactions, my belief is that the colonists will gain, and not suffer, by this great change in our policy. The colonial empire of this country is an empire of which every British statesman is most justly proud, and to which the people of this country attach the highest value. I trust that when this better system has been adopted we shall see the colonies increase and flourish, that we shall be proud of them as our creation, that we shall continue to see them in the enjoyment of that liberty which we have given them, and that both they and the mother country may flourish in union for ever (Cheers.)

In conclusion, he laid on the table resolutions in conformity with his explanation; and proposed a resolution for the temporary continuance of the present duties.

In answer to Mr. GOULBURN, who asked whether he contemplated permitting the interchange of the produce of the colonies and of foreign nations in foreign ships, Lord J. RUSSELL said all he proposed to do was to empower Her Majesty to give her assent in this country, and not the governors in the colonies, to any law or bill which might be passed by the colonies for taking away those discriminating duties against foreign produce. He did not propose in any respect to alter the navigation laws which existed.

Lord G. BENTINCK said he and his friends would support the resolution for the temporary continuance of the present duties; but, true to the principles on which they had acted before, they could not consent to the admission of slave-grown sugar, or if there were no moral objection to the removal of protection from our colonists.

His noble friend had spoken of the colonial system as being a vicious circle. He (Lord G. Bentinck) and his friends around him differed from the noble lord, for they thought that, so far from its being a vicious circle, it was wise to give protection to the East and West Indian interests as well as to afford protection to our home producers. His noble friend had said, that having lost protection for themselves, he (Lord G. Bentinck) and his friends would find poor consolation in maintaining protection for others. Now, he (Lord G. Bentinck) would not, from any desire to be avenged, deprive the East and West Indian interests of what he considered was unjustly sought to be taken from them—of that protection of which he and those who entertained the same views had themselves been unjustly deprived. Upon the principle of protection his honourable friends around him were determined to support the East and West Indian interests; they were resolved to support British industry wherever it might be employed, and British capital wherever it might be invested.

Mr. G. BERKELEY thought that the first place to look for a supply of sugar should be from our colonies. No man had a right to say there was not a sufficiently good return from our colonies, until they had been allowed a fair opportunity of showing the amount of sugar they could raise. He was anxious to follow the noble lord upon this question, yet he could not support him unless the noble lord would give the free-labour system greater consideration. He could assure the House, that, without the encouragement of free labour, it would be impossible for our colonies to continue of service to themselves, or to the mother country.

Mr. WAKLEY understood from what had fallen from the noble lord the member for Lynn, that he was in favour of protecting British capital wherever it was to be found. But, would the noble lord only protect British capital? Had he forgotten the condition of the thousands of British labourers in the West Indies, who were now living in comfort and affluence, but who were now about to be swamped by the introduction of a race of slaves from all parts of the world? They were in danger of having the slave-trade revived in its worst form. Now, he hoped the noble lord, the first minister of the Crown, would see to it, that if labourers were introduced at all, he would take care that the slave-trade should not

be revived—(Cheers)—that the merciless, cruel, and cold-blooded speculators in human life should not be allowed to prey upon their fellow-creatures as they had before done; but that the principle of protection should be adopted in this instance, as a shield and protection to the unfortunate and the helpless.

Lord J. RUSSELL, in reply to the hon. member for Finsbury (Mr. Wakley) said, that the government did not contemplate the admission of sugar on reduced duties from parts of Africa where no British settlement existed.

Mr. G. W. HOPE wished to know whether the noble lord meant to allow contracts to be made for the supply of labour to all the British possessions, or only to those on the African coast?

Lord J. RUSSELL intimated that the regulations were to apply to the British possessions generally.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. July 28.

On the motion of the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, that the House should resolve itself into committee of ways and means, for the purpose of considering the resolutions on the sugar duties,

Lord G. BENTINCK rose and said.—In bringing forward this motion, he was confident that his noble friend at the head of the Government would give him credit for truth, when he said that he brought it forward with no hostile feelings towards her Majesty's Government. (Hear, hear.) Upon a question in which such great interests, such great British interests, as those which existed in the East and West Indies were concerned, and above all upon a question which affected the liberty of the African race, it would not be right to mix up these mere party considerations. (Hear, hear.) But while on the one hand in introducing this measure he disclaimed any hostile intentions towards her Majesty's ministers, he must, in answer to those surmises which he had seen published, that his honourable friends around him were come down to fight a sham battle, vindicate them and himself from any such unjust insinuations. (Hear.) Feeble he might be, and perhaps was, but still he was prepared to fight this battle, as far as concerned the East and West India planters, and as far as it concerned the interests of the African race, with all the honesty and the vigour of which he was capable. (Cheers.) The question now before the House divided itself into three distinct heads, and as such he would endeavour to meet it. The first question was that which concerned the interests of the British sugar planters in the East and West Indies and the Mauritius, and which at the same time concerned the supply of sugar to this country. The next question which he should consider would be the question of revenue touched upon by his noble friend in introducing his resolutions to the House. And the third and last question which he should take up would be that of the interests of the African race. His noble friend in introducing those resolutions to the House founded his policy, in a considerable degree, upon the difficulty which existed of supplying the wants of the people of England with sugar, and the necessity of giving them a supply of cheap sugar. True, his noble friend did not state that there would be an absolute famine in sugar; but he had led the House to suppose that there would be a considerable want of it. Now, he (Lord G. Bentinck) proposed to investigate that part of the question, and he trusted to be able to satisfy the House that, so far from there being any probability of a scarcity of sugar in times to come, if they would only give confidence to the British planters (hear, hear)—if they would only give confidence to the investments of British capital in the plantation and cultivation of sugar which were now going on alike in the West Indies, the Mauritius, and, above all, in the East Indies, they need entertain no fear but that there would be an ample supply of sugar for this country. (Hear, hear.) He did not deny that the effect of the emancipation of slaves had been very much to diminish the use of the British West Indies—he could not deny, whilst for six years previous to the emancipation of slaves, the West Indies produced, upon an average, between 190,000 and 200,000 tons of sugar a year, that their production, since emancipation, had fallen off to such an extent, that at one period it did not exceed 107,000 tons, whilst at the utmost the produce had not exceeded 145,000 tons; and that, as a natural consequence of this falling off in the produce of sugar, the price had risen. Taking the average of the prices (with which he had been furnished by the Grocers' Company) for the six years previous to emancipation and the twelve years which had elapsed since that event, the difference in price as between those two periods, had been no less than 10s. a cwt. He had taken two periods, the month of July and the month of March, in each of these 18 years; and he found that the average price of the last six years of slavery did not exceed 27s. and some pence the cwt.; whilst the average price of the last twelve years had amounted to 37s. the cwt. He was not going to contend that by admitting slave-grown sugar the people of this country would not, for a time at least, gain to the amount he had stated; but it would be no more than just one penny a pound. At the same time, however, he maintained that we had a right to expect better things. (Hear, hear.) He looked forward to an increased produce in the East Indies and the Mauritius, and to a restored produce in the West Indies (hear, hear,) provided the Government of this country would facilitate the means of the West Indians to obtain free labour, and also continue to them the security of that protection which they now enjoy. It was the calculation of his noble friend (Lord J. Russell), that in the present year it might be expected that 125,000 tons of sugar would be obtained from the West Indies. Now he thought that his noble friend was somewhat sanguine in that expectation; but on the other hand, his noble friend far under-stated the produce that might be expected to come from the East Indies. He (Lord G. Bentinck) had been assured by those who were best able to judge that there was every reason to believe that next year the exportation of sugar from the East Indies would amount to 100,000 tons. Those who had made calculations upon the subject informed him that such had been the character of the season that the increase in the present year over the last would be no less than 30 per cent. If protection were continued, and the inducement of good prices were held out for the employment of capital, there was no doubt before the five years had expired, from which period it was proposed to reduce slave-grown sugar to a level with British colonial sugar, that the increase of sugar in the East Indies would be such as to render the importation from slave states altogether unnecessary. With respect to the Mauritius, the produce this season, already shipped, amounted to no less than 46,000 tons, and the quantity either actually shipped or ready to be shipped

amounted to 49,000 tons, while the crop altogether would amount to 60,000 tons. It was well known to be no longer a matter of doubt that those who in their sanguine expectations, when slavery had been put an end to, had calculated that the free negroes would double the quantity of produce obtained from the slaves, had been bitterly disappointed. In those hot climates, which relaxed the energies, even the negroes could not for the high wages they received be induced to labour, and the free negroes, instead of producing double the quantity they were wont to produce when slaves, did not produce more than one-half of that quantity. He had stated that to show the West India planters would not be able, even with their free labour, to compete with the slavery of Cuba and Brazil; but while he said that he trusted slavery would be held for ever extinguished in the British colonies. (Hear, hear.) As to the capability of the East Indies to furnish a supply, he had already stated that the export depended upon the price, but it should be also borne in mind that the freight from the East Indies varied from £4 10s. to £6 10s. per ton—a heavy charge to which Brazilian and Cuban sugar was not subjected, the freight from Cuba, being at the present moment so low as 30s. per ton, though generally it was between £2 10s. and £3 10s. per ton. It was quite clear then that Brazil and Cuban sugar, even upon another ground, besides the opportunity of growing their sugar at a much less cost, had a great advantage over the East Indies, and, therefore, if the latter was to compete with them, it was evident Brazil and Cuba must be alone successful. But they were told that free trade required that the Brazils should be open to our markets, that they would not take our manufactures because we did not take their sugar. That might be true; but if we took their sugar, it might be by taking it instead of the sugar of the West Indies, and we had yet to learn in what respect any customers in the Brazils and Cuba could be preferable to customers in our own West and East Indies, the Mauritius, and our other colonies and possessions. He now came to the last division of this question—that relating to slavery. The question he would fairly admit was—he did not wish to blink it—the question was, whether or not the people of England would have slavery and sugar, as his noble friend said, cheaper by 6s. per cwt., or two-thirds of a penny per pound, or whether they would be content to pay two thirds of a penny a pound more for sugar grown by the free hand of British industry? (Cheers.) He regretted that this subject had not fallen into abler hands, and especially when he saw many gentlemen who, on former occasions, had taken distinguished parts in these discussions. He saw just now in the House the honourable and learned member for Cork. (Mr. O'Connell.) Few gentlemen in that House had put the question more forcibly before them. That honourable and learned gentleman said plainly it was a question of cheap sugar with slavery, or dearer sugar with free trade. (Hear, hear.) He also said it was the child's proverb over again, "Get a larger loaf and a father's curse." (Hear, hear.) He agreed with the honourable and learned member, that it was a farce to propose to let in slave-grown sugar from Cuba and Brazil, without, at the same time, proposing a measure for the repeal of the act for the abolition of slavery. That honourable member also said it was only necessary to place the question fairly before the people of England, and he feared not for the result. So said he (Lord G. Bentinck.) He believed the people of England, oppressed as they were with taxation, did not regret the twenty millions sterling they had paid for the emancipation of slaves. (Cheers.) If they meant to allow slave-grown sugar to come into the country, let them call home their fleets, let them cease to expend their blood and treasure on the coast of Africa. He might be asked whether there was anything in the slave-trade as it was now carried on which should induce the people of England to change their minds with respect to this terrible traffic. There had come out within these two days—he did not know whether he might call it a state paper—but a document written by a paid officer of the Crown, in which he said the West India planters must be roused from their lethargy, and that this was only to be done by allowing slave-grown sugar to come into competition with them. He (Mr. Porter) was asked if he was anxious for the admission of slave-grown produce, and he replied that he was, because he believed there would be great efficacy in carrying out their principles. He added, "there was in commercial legislation only one true principle, that which was understood by the expression free trade, and that they could not estimate the value of this principle; that in putting themselves in opposition to it we had a right to believe men were opposing the intentions of Providence in giving different comforts and various productions to the nations of the earth, and that it was amongst our first duties to aid them as far as we knew and could understand them, and not thwart or attempt to thwart the designs of the Great Parent of the universe." What! Was the Great Parent of the universe to be called into partnership with Mr. Porter for the encouragement of the diabolical slave-trade? (Loud cheers.) Was he, to whom they were taught from their earliest childhood to believe man-stealing and the shedding of innocent blood was an abomination; was he to be called into partnership with Mr. Porter, this paid servant of the Government, to encourage slavery in Cuba and Brazil, and to give freedom to the traffic between Africa and the West Indies? (Renewed cheers.) He (Lord G. Bentinck) believed he had now exhausted all the arguments which had been brought to bear upon the subject by his noble friend; and that he had put the case fairly before the people of England, as it was his wish to do. He did not desire to disguise anything from them, and he hoped he had omitted no point of reply. If they chose to take 6s. per cwt., or two-thirds of a penny on the pound of sugar, as a price for the increase of negro slavery, he would say be it so. Upon looking at the comparative price of sugar for the last twelve years of freedom, and the previous six years of slavery, he saw more than the difference of 6s. the cwt. in the price. He wished the people of England to know that the question was one of two-thirds of a penny in each pound of the sugar they consumed, and to let foreign nations also know, that the people of England were willing to eat their food "unleavened" by a sense of injustice. (Cheers.) He wanted to let the people of England know, that if in furtherance of that which was now assumed to be the true principle of commerce, free trade—if Government wished to inculcate this principle further, and to cheapen their sugar as well as their bread—that they must eat their sugar, their cheapened sugar, moistened by the blood of the negro. (Hear.) He humbly trusted that the mighty sacrifices which the people of England had made, and this humble tribute of one penny on their pound of sugar, which he felt assured the people would willingly continue to pay, would be

registered on high, and that, side by side with the widow's mite, the £20,000,000 for the suppression of slavery would appear as the offering of those wise, generous, and warm-hearted free men—the virtuous, religious, and Christian nations—the people of these isles. (Cheers.) He begged to move, "That in the present state of the sugar cultivation in the British East and West Indian possessions, the proposed reduction of duty upon foreign slave-grown sugar is alike unjust and impolitic, as tending to check the advance of production by British free labour, and to give a great additional stimulus to the slave-trade."

Mr. BANKES seconded the motion.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he thought the division of the subject made by his noble friend was the most convenient form through which to follow the noble lord's arguments; and he would, therefore, endeavour to take separately the noble lord's three divisions of the subject. First, the question of supply; second, the question of revenue; and thirdly, as to the bearing of the question on the interest of the African. Two years ago the right hon. gentleman who filled the situation he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) then held, brought forward a plan for the introduction of free-labour sugar into this country. The right hon. gentleman stated, in language more forcible than he was able to command, the all importance of securing an adequate supply of sugar to the consumer in this country. He said that which was formerly a luxury had become an article of necessity to the great body of the people of this country; and he was, therefore, most anxious to make the supply adequate to the demand. The right hon. gentleman traced the history of the sugar trade. He showed that the West India colonies at first supplied not only England, but the north of Europe, with sugar, that ships left their sugars here, if they were wanted, but if not they passed on with their cargoes to foreign countries. The colonists, in fact, had a monopoly of the sugar trade with England; but when a supply from the West India colonies failed, it became necessary to open the East India trade, and to bring the produce of the East Indies in competition with the produce of the West Indies. He further said the increased price and the increased demand in this country fully justified him in bringing forward that measure; and he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) hoped to be able to show that as the demand was now greater and the rise greater than at the time the right honourable gentleman spoke, therefore all those considerations which induced Government to bring foreign sugars into competition with our own, existed in a greater degree, and even that it should become a subject of consideration as to the admission of sugars grown by the slave labour of other countries. When the right honourable gentleman spoke he referred to the fact of increased demand as measured by consumption; but the increased demand then bore no proportion to the increased demand of last year as measured by increased consumption. He had circulars in his hand from Messrs. Freeman and Co. to show that the supply of free-labour sugar would fail to meet the demand. The supply had not only failed to meet the demand, but the measure had also failed, as far as revenue was concerned. The amount of revenue had greatly diminished; therefore it was clear that on the two points—sufficient supply and increased revenue—the measure in question had totally and entirely failed. Hence arose the necessity for further measures in the same direction, for it was by following in the same direction; that we might calculate with the greatest certainty on attaining the end proposed. His noble friend had said a good deal about the probable rise in the price of foreign slave-grown sugar. Now his impression was that there would be no rise, but probably a fall in the price. He came now to the revenue. Ten years ago the revenue of the country was in a flourishing state. After that time, owing partly to bad harvests and the depression of trade, the revenue fell off. In 1839, the deficiency was aggravated by the measure of which this country had since reaped the benefit—he meant the reduction of postage (Hear, hear)—a measure which had more than answered the expectations of its promoters. In the year 1840 the right honourable gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed an additional duty of five per cent. on the customs and excise, and in 1841, in an attempt to reinforce the revenue, he failed, and the Government left office. In 1842 the right hon. gentleman opposite proposed the income tax, and since that time the revenue had been more prosperous. Good harvests, prosperous trade, and a variety of circumstances had aided the measures from which the right honourable gentleman proposed to develop the industry of the country and increased its resources; and last year the excise gave evidence of the increased comfort of the people. But he was afraid these good times were not likely to continue. The noble lord had dwelt upon the subject of the slave-trade. It was impossible not to admire and respect those who took the view of the case which the noble lord did; but, nevertheless, harrowing as the descriptions were of the slave-trade as now carried on, and of the treatment of slaves in Cuba and elsewhere, he thought the noble lord had failed in showing that the present measure tended to promote the slave-trade. The noble lord might deny himself the use of slave-grown sugar. He was at a loss to know at what point the noble lord drew the distinction, and he could not see how, by abstaining from any share in passing the present measure, those who opposed it could escape the charge of encouraging slavery and the slave-trade. Last year the export of slave-grown sugar refined in England to our American colonies and the West Indies was no less. It was self-evident then that if they took from the continental markets a portion of the sugar with which they had been supplied, that the vacuum so created would, in all probability, be filled by slave-grown sugar. They might as well say that they could lower the liquid in a vessel which had a free communication with another, without lowering it also in that other, as that they could take sugar from the continental markets without the vacuum being filled up by slave-grown sugar. Last year the converse occurred. The supply of slave-sugar in the continental markets had decreased in consequence of the deficiency of the crops in Cuba and elsewhere. The right hon. baronet opposite (Sir R. Peel) had stated that such had been the effect on the continental market of their restrictive measures, that they had been deprived of the supply of free-labour sugar, and consequently the vacuum thus created had been filled up by sugar the produce of slave-labour (Hear.)

Sir R. H. INGLIS thanked his noble friend the member for Lynn for the temperate, as well as practical, nature of the resolution which he had that night introduced. He thanked him also for the speech by which that resolution had been prefaced—a speech as comprehensive in its details as it was just in its principles and conclusive in its reasoning. For his own

part he should have rested the decision of the House on this question on that single speech, were it not that it was not the custom there to have their battles decided between single combatants. (Hear and laughter.) Under these circumstances, and considering the interest which he had always felt in a subject involved in the present matter, he trusted he should also be permitted to take a part in the discussion. The right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a great part of his speech, seemed to him (Sir R. Inglis) as though he were the chancellor of next year (Laughter), and was delivering the melancholy financial statement which he might have to deliver in April, 1847. (Laughter.) The sum of the right hon. gentleman's speech seemed to be this, that a sum of £340,000 had to be made up for the revenue of 1847, and *per fas et nefas*, however it was to be made up he did not care so as it was secured, even by the blood-stained traffic of slavery. So at least it seemed, as he was sorry to observe that his right hon. friend expressed a hope of having 200,000 tons of slave-grown sugar come into this country. Now, it was reasonable to hope the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to show that some necessity existed for such a proposition as the present, or that the circumstances of the country were such as to call for it. But no such thing was the case. It had been said that this was a question of the obligation of treaty. The noble lord the member for Lynn had alluded to that point, and he thought he had given a sufficient answer to what had been put forth respecting such alleged obligation of treaty. If there was an actual obligation on our part to give to Spain an advantage which the Brazils could not claim, if such was made evident to his (Sir R. Inglis's) conscience, he could not still say that he would come to the conclusion at which Her Majesty's ministers had arrived, because the alternative suggested by his noble friend the member for Lynn was at once the most easy and obvious remedy. Relinquish the benefit of the admission, and at once this whole question of treaty fell to the ground. (Hear.) He resisted the proposed measure, because he believed it a great discouragement to British industry, both at home and in the colonies, and because it was calculated in his mind to increase a crime which in this Christian country had been ever held abominable, and more particularly because the sufferers from it were those most entitled to the sympathy of a nation like this. Every ton of slave-grown sugar introduced into Christian England would be produced by the blood and suffering of at least three African slaves, and those three slaves would probably be the remnant of nine unhappy individuals forcibly removed from their native homes; so that if we were to import 20,000 tons of slave-grown sugar, its production would be attended by the kidnapping of 180,000 helpless inhabitants of the coast of Africa. It had been distinctly admitted by Her Majesty's ministers that the effect of that measure would be to encourage slave labour; but they added, by way of justification, that we already imported several articles produced by that labour. He would ask, however, whether a man ought voluntarily to do an uncalld-for evil merely because he could not do all the good he might desire? For his part, he would take the world as he found it, but he would not needlessly add to the amount of human suffering. He believed that the measure of Her Majesty's Government would prevent the progress of a most desirable experiment, would greatly increase the sufferings of the Africans, and would lead to an amount of human misery which could not be contemplated without horror. Under these circumstances it was needless for him to say with what cordial satisfaction he concurred in the resolution of the noble lord the member for Lynn (Lord G. Bentinck), and with what ardour—he wished he could say with what sanguine hope—he looked forward to its adoption by that House. He believed that, as Englishmen and as Christians, they would discharge their highest duties alike to their country and to their God, by refusing to give any further encouragement to a system injurious to their fellow-creatures and dishonourable to the Supreme Being. (Cheers.)

Lord SANDON.—If he could take the same view of the question as his hon. friend who had just sat down, he would feel compelled to follow the same course. The real question the House had to decide was whether, in the result, the measure under their consideration would encourage the slave-trade or not? A year and a half ago they had taken the step of allowing the introduction of foreign sugar, and such being the case they could not stop there. The question was, whether the admission of foreign slave-grown sugar would practically give any appreciable additional encouragement to slavery? In 1844 he took the liberty to express his doubts of the wisdom of placing a new discriminating duty upon the tariff of this country, but having given expression to those doubts, he followed the lead of his right hon. friend, who then made the proposition. They were now compelled to reconsider the question, and following out the advice of the most practical and experienced merchants connected with the trade, he could come to no other conclusion than that, when they once admitted any foreign sugar, they practically opened the market to all. After full inquiry the merchants of England did not look at the proposition of Her Majesty's Government as an encouragement of slavery or of the slave-trade, and it was high time that such a fallacy were exploded, because its only effect was to produce much irritation in Brazil, and in Spain, and rendered both the property and the life of those of our merchants dealing with those countries very unsafe. That was a most difficult question to deal with; indeed he believed that there had not been a Government in power since emancipation which had not failed in their duty upon that subject. When emancipation was passed they seemed to think the work was done, but much had yet to be done in providing labour in our West India colonies. His opinion was, that if labour was made abundant there, free-labour would beat slave-labour out of the market as was instanced in the East Indies, in Java, and Siam. He did not believe the measure of the Government would give additional encouragement to slavery, and therefore he would give it his support.

Mr. G. BERKELEY.—His right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had complained that the supply of sugar from the West India colonies had fallen off; but from what cause was that? It was because labour had been taken from those colonies, and because, from the state of the law, they were unable to procure a proper supply to raise and send the sugar to this country. No doubt the price of sugar ought to be as low as possible; but would it not be better to allow, our own colonies to supply our market than give all the benefit to the foreigner? He said they ought to turn their attention to the colonies before they gave a single boon to the slave-grower. High as the price of sugar was in this country, he could assure the House that in British Guiana it was nearly impossible to make and send sugar to England with any reasonable profit.

Sir J. HOPE said he had supported the former alteration in the sugar duties under the impression that it would lead to an ample supply of sugar to this country. He found that he had been mistaken in this supposition, and he was, therefore, now prepared to support the proposition of the Government, believing it to be of the utmost importance that the people of England should have an unlimited supply of an article which had almost become a necessary of life.

Mr. G. W. HOPE said that, belonging to the department he did during the reign of the late Government, he had an opportunity of seeing how the Slavery Emancipation Act worked in our West Indian colonies, and he was convinced that it had operated beneficially. He was of opinion that the measure before the House as regarded the West Indian interests was severe and unjust in the extreme, and that if it was carried into effect the prosperity of our colonies would be destroyed. Slavery, he was sure, would receive a stimulus from the Government measure. According to the noble lord (Lord J. Russell,) it would cause a rise in the price of slave sugar of 25 per cent.; and if such were the case it must cause an increase in the slave-trade. By their attempts to suppress the slave-trade they had increased its horrors; and by this measure they gave a stimulus to that of which they aggravated the misery; and doing this, they inflicted a great additional injustice on the West Indies.

Sir R. PEEL said—The House will probably recollect, as it has been adverted to by the noble lord the member for Lynn, that at an early period of the present session I announced that it was the intention of the late Government to have proposed a measure in reference to the admission of foreign sugar, and which measure would have been based upon a different principle from that which the noble lord has now proposed. The proposal I intended to make on the part of the Government would have given greater facilities and encouragement to the admission of free sugar; and I have no hesitation in saying, that had that Government remained in office, the proposal which I should then have made would have been in accordance with that which I announced in the early part of the session. The measure which I should have proposed on the part of the Government would have continued the exclusion from the markets of this country of sugar the produce of slave-labour, and it would have admitted at lower rates than the present sugar the produce of free-labour in foreign countries, and coming in competition with sugar the produce of our own colonies. (Hear, hear.) And having made that statement it is not without great hesitation that I have come to the conclusion as to the vote which it will be my duty to give upon the present occasion. Sir, I, and those with whom I acted, always felt that this question of slave-labour, and the produce of slave-labour, was excepted from the principles which governed, and, in my opinion, ought to govern our ordinary commercial intercourse. I thought we stood in a peculiar relation, in the first place in respect, in particular, to the West Indian colonies of this country. The question of the East Indies differs materially, in respect to the supply of sugar, from the West India colonies, but those with whom I acted agreed in the opinion which I myself entertained, that this country did stand in a very special and peculiar relation to our West India colonies. You had emancipated from slavery those on whose labour in former years you had mainly relied for the supplying of this country with West India produce. You had given to the holders of the slaves a liberal, and, estimating it as to the pecuniary amount, apparently a magnificent compensation for the sacrifice of their interests; but, whether or no, however large the sum may be, it was an adequate compensation for the eventual loss sustained, is a question open to some degree of doubt. Be that, however, as it may, you did subject the West India colonies to great disadvantages in competing with those countries where slavery existed. Sir, the peculiar relation in which you stood to the West Indies did appear to us to justify a departure from ordinary rules, and it did appear to us to require in justice to those colonies that a considerable interval should be allowed before they could be expected to enter into competition with countries placed under very different circumstances. We thought also that we stood in a very peculiar relation with respect to the abolition of slavery—that we had undertaken to constitute a police of the seas, for the purpose of preventing slavery—that we had departed from all those principles which generally governed our international intercourse—that we had formed treaties with other powers, requiring them to abolish slavery—requiring them to submit themselves to certain regulations with respect to the management of their own concerns—we had established the right of search, and in foregoing the right of search in the case of France, we had established, in concert with France, an immense fleet on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of preventing the transport of natives from Africa to other countries, in order that they might there labour as slaves. That was a violation of all the principles which governed your international policy. We had a perfect right to abolish slavery for ourselves, but we had gone further. Influenced by a sense of humanity, we had desired that our example and our influence should tell upon other countries, in inducing them to abolish slavery and the slave-trade, and for the purpose of giving effect to that we did not merely rely on the force of international engagements, but we had employed the physical marine of this country for the purpose of destroying, if possible, the slave-trade. That again constituted a great exception from the ordinary rules which governed our policy. Therefore, it did appear to be a great inconsistency, in taking these vigorous measures for the suppression of the slave-trade, which we ourselves carried on under the sanction of law but a few years since, at the same time by any act of ours to give encouragement to the trade. Under these circumstances, had we remained in power, it certainly was our intention to have given a further period to the colonies of this country—particularly to the West Indian colonies—in order that they might be enabled to bear the competition with the slave countries. Sir, entertaining these opinions, and having apprehensions, I fear, which others do not entertain with respect to the possible effect of the measure proposed by the noble lord—fearing that it may at first, at least, give a stimulus to the slave-trade—it is not without great reluctance that I have come to the resolution of giving my support to the motion of the noble lord. (Laughter, and cheers from the Protectionists.) I am forced to consider other than the mere abstract merits of this question. I am forced to consider the position of parties, and the prospects that there are of forming a government in this country. (Cheers, and cries of "hear.") Your enemies, no doubt, allege that you are encouraging the slave-trade; but if you are conscious that you are not encouraging it, and if you place those labourers who go to the colonies under effectual control, so that the

cupidity of individuals shall not subject them to unjust exactions or to the violation of engagements into which ignorant men have entered, I am in favour of the encouragement of free immigration of labour into the colonies; but with all the encouragement that you can give to it, I am afraid there still are considerable difficulties accompanying the system. Now, in the first place, speaking of the West Indian colonies, the expense is very great. The expense of bringing the natives of the East Indies to the West Indies is very great. The expense of bringing Africans from the coast of Africa must also be very considerable. And, observe, unless you accompany the immigration of the males with a due supply of females, you encounter risks, in point of humanity, of the most formidable character. (Hear, hear.) What may be the position of the Mauritius at the present moment I know not; but of this I am sure, that for the purpose of promoting the ultimate success of your experiment, it is of the utmost importance that there should be a due proportion of females introduced with the males that you bring into your colonies. And therefore entertaining the sincere belief that at no remote period—if this measure be obstructed now—it must ultimately be carried, and believing that if any one individual is to carry it, no one is more entitled to the credit of its success than the noble lord, I am come to the conclusion, not without hesitation and reluctance, to give my support to the principle of the noble lord's measure, and in supporting that principle, it is my fixed resolution not to embarrass him by a discussion upon the details of it. (Hear, hear.)

Sir T. D. ACLAND said that he would support the motion of Lord George Bentinck, for Sir R. Peel had grounded his support of the resolutions of the Government entirely upon the state of parties in that House—the very last consideration by which he should have allowed himself to be influenced. The opening of another market for slave-grown sugar must give an encouragement to slavery, and he would therefore vote in favour of the policy which the country had now pursued for thirty years, at the expense of everything but character.

The House then adjourned.

ADJOURNED DEBATE. July 29.

Mr. PHILIP MILES opened the adjourned debate by stating: He could assure the House and the noble lord that it was not his intention to offer any useless opposition to the bill, because he did not think it right unnecessarily to protract the business of the House. He could not admit that the measure would confer a great benefit upon the country, as the noble lord had stated, and it was because he considered it would do precisely the reverse, because he considered it would give a great stimulus and a great encouragement to the slave-trade, that he was about to support the resolutions proposed by the noble lord the member for Lynn. He confessed he was astonished to hear on the previous night the noble lord the member for Liverpool, he who had moved the celebrated resolution in 1841, assent to the proposal of her Majesty's Government. He must say he was not prepared to hear him give such reasons for the vote he was about to give. Neither was he prepared to hear the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a speech of great ability, tell the House that he rejoiced to be able to say that he looked forward to receive a large increase to the revenue from the source of foreign-grown sugar. The debate of the last night had turned not so much upon the state of the West Indian colonies, as upon other branches of the question, and it was because he was deeply interested in the welfare and condition of those colonies that he felt unwilling that the House should come to a decision last night, before he had stated what he knew concerning their condition, and the probable effects of the measure upon them. From all that he had learned from practical people on the subject, and from what he knew himself, he should say that he believed the effect of the measure upon those colonies would be to throw a vast number of estates altogether out of cultivation. All the estates that were of barren and inferior soil, and which had not the advantages of proximity to shipping, would be thrown out of cultivation. He would take, for instance, the island of Jamaica. In that island there were, he believed, in present cultivation about 400 estates, and he had been assured by gentlemen conversant with this subject that of them from 150 to 200 would be thrown out of cultivation by this measure. He was confident that the West India body would be willing to make considerable sacrifices; but he regretted to see a minister of the Crown boast of the revenue that would be derived from the importation of slave-grown sugar. If it were wished to put an effectual end to the traffic in slaves, the end must be attained by showing the whole world that free labour was cheaper than slave labour; and the present measure of free trade was not likely to produce that conviction.

Mr. BORTHWICK said that he had never listened to a speech that was more calculated to lower the House in the estimation of the country than that which the right honourable baronet (Sir R. Peel) had last night delivered. He had avowed that he supported the present motion because the Government by which it was brought forward had only been a few weeks in office; but however injurious rapid changes of the kind were, he (Mr. Borthwick) exclaimed *flat justitia ruat cælum*, if a measure injurious to the empire were proposed. The real purpose of the speech of the right honourable baronet was as clear as noon-day. That purpose was to render it difficult to form any government. He could not support the amendment of the noble member for Lynn, because upon certain terms the noble lord was willing to admit slave-grown sugar. He balanced the blood of the negro against so many pounds, shillings, and pence; and provided 40s. per cwt. could be secured to the sugars of our own free colonies, he (Lord G. Bentinck) was not opposed to the importation of sugar from Cuba or Brazil. Whilst he differed *in toto* from the noble lord the member for Lynn on the question of the slave-trade, he did not think that our West Indian colonies were entitled to a large share of protection, and though he should vote for the resolutions, he should certainly move at a subsequent period that the 9s. 3d. differential duty in favour of our West Indian colonies against all foreign sugars whatever, whether the produce of free or slave-labour, should be continued for a period of five years. (Hear, hear.)

The Marquis of GRANBY said that the speech of the right honourable baronet the member for Tamworth was, in his opinion, in favour of the resolution of his noble friend the member for Lynn, and strongly against the proposition of the present Government; nevertheless the right hon. baronet said, that in consequence of the present state of parties, he was unable to vote against the Government. The vote which he (the Marquis of Granby) was going to give was not a factious vote—it was not a vote against the present Government; but it was a vote against this

particular measure. (Hear, hear.) The only argument which he had heard in support of this measure deserving the name of an argument was, that because we admitted other slave-grown produce, we were bound to admit slave-grown sugar. But he thought there was a vast difference in the production of the articles referred to and sugar. He would not enter more into detail upon that part of the subject then. He believed that honourable gentlemen were well acquainted with the fact; but if any one felt curious upon the matter, he would refer him to a speech upon the subject made by the right honourable baronet the member for Tamworth—not this year, but last year. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) Supposing, however, that there was no difference in the production of the articles, yet he contended that it was no argument to say, because we had done wrong in one instance, were we to do it in another.

Sir J. R. REID said that under the existing circumstances in which the colonies were placed, if this measure were carried it would lead to their total and complete ruin. He had no hesitation in declaring that this very day, in consequence of the turn that the debate of last night had taken, and the probability of the measure being carried, a decision had been come to by some of the most respectable parties connected with the colonies, and that the fiat had already gone forth to prevent the cultivation of some estates in the West Indies. Some had already adopted this course, and others must follow; for it was quite out of the question, and every practical man who was connected with the colonies would bear him out in the assertion, that our colonies could not maintain a competition with slave-grown sugar.

Mr. BERNAL would detail in a few words the true state of matters connected with the West Indies, in reference to the measure now under discussion. He was not now connected with the committee of the West India body, and he therefore must be taken as stating only his own individual opinions. The West Indies had long been the unfortunate victim of circumstances, and he rejoiced at the prospect of the question, so long agitated, and so unscrupulously employed, being at length settled. (Hear, hear.) The great pressure under which they suffered had undoubtedly come upon them since the abolition of slavery. This was a broad glaring fact, but it was one which could not now be remedied or helped. What he conceived the West Indians would be obliged now to do was simply to meet the coming emergency by increased diligence and assiduity, by increased skill, and the adoption of European modes of cultivation. (Hear.) What they wanted more or less all over the West Indian archipelago was labour, and that could be best supplied from the coast of Africa. The Hill Coolies were not so well fitted, either by physical structure or moral tendencies for the species of labour required, as were the natives of the African continent. The honourable member for Dover informed the House that several gentlemen of his acquaintance had sent out directions to stop the cultivation of their estates; he in effect informed them that those gentlemen abandoned their estates to decay; for, owing to the nature of the soil in those colonies, the instant they ceased to cultivate the land it was overrun with weeds and destroyed. But he would advise those gentlemen to exert all their energies to meet this change. He would say to them—Do not despair. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. D'ISRAELI. Sir, the noble lord who moved the amendment to the motion that you should leave the chair, proposed to himself to establish three points for the consideration of the House—the first, that it was in the power of this country to find from legitimate resources all that supply of sugar necessary for its consumption; the second, that Her Majesty's ministers, in the calculation they have made with respect to the revenue, had furnished us with very unsatisfactory prospects; and the third, that in adopting the resolutions which they have brought forward, we should be stimulating that traffic in slaves which the House has so often and so significantly reprobated. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I have listened with great attention to the speech of the right honourable gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer—the member of the cabinet who has affected to give an answer to the speech of the noble lord the member for Lynn. He appears to me to the first proposition of the noble lord the member for Lynn to have offered an assumption. (Hear, hear, hear.) He appears to me to have encountered the second proposition with an hypothesis; and he appears to me to have supposed that he could have vanquished the third proposition with a sophism (Hear, hear.) Sir, the noble lord in supporting his position, that this country could be supplied from legitimate sources with a sufficient and ample quantity of sugar for its own consumption, has offered an estimate which, if we can trust his figures, proves the dogma he has laid down. Her Majesty's ministers have no confidence in that estimate. They say at once it is the assumption of a Chancellor of the Exchequer. I call it an assumption to have entered into no details, and no figures contrary to the noble lord. Her Majesty's ministers have estimated the produce of the West Indian colonies at 125,000 tons—the noble lord has estimated it at 115,000 (Hear, hear); therefore, at the first blush, it would appear that the noble lord, however erroneous may be his estimates, has not been inclined to over estimate the produce of those different quarters from which the aggregate of supply can be obtained. (Hear, hear.) The second part of the estimate has reference to the Mauritius. Notwithstanding all the innuendoes which have been thrown out in the course of the debate, I do not believe that the ministers are inclined to quarrel with the estimate of the noble lord, in supposing that the Mauritius will supply fifty thousand tons of sugar to the market of this country. Therefore, as far as the quantity which we may look to receive from the West India colonies is concerned, which we may anticipate to receive from the Mauritius, I think I may safely say it is not in the power of ministers at all to substantiate their point against the noble lord, for they have themselves exceeded his estimate. But the right honourable gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer says that he cannot bring himself for one moment to believe that India can offer to us the quantity which the noble lord had supposed she will, and he accordingly warns the House not to attach any credit to that estimate. But it is worthy of remark that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, although he has declared his disbelief in the estimate of Indian produce, did not offer a single fact—no, nor one single argument—to disprove the validity of the estimate he impugned. He said he was exceedingly astonished, but there it ended. The honourable member then went on to support the views of the member of Lynn in opposition to those of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reference to the increase in the revenue.

And now I shall apply myself to another part, one which I think from my knowledge of it to be most important and interesting. Sir, the noble lord the member for Lynn has not only wished to slow the House and the

country that there is a legitimate source from which we can supply our English population with sugar—he has not only been anxious to show to the House that there has been great and unsatisfactory inconsistency in the estimate that has been formed with respect to the revenue by her Majesty's ministers, but the noble lord has offered to the adoption of the House a resolution which expresses the opinion of himself, and of his friends, that if the resolutions of the Government are adopted there will be a great stimulus given to slavery. (Hear, hear.) Now, Sir, often as this subject has been discussed in the House of Commons—many as are the years that have elapsed—many as are the governments that have had to meet, or to conduct such debates, this I think will be admitted, that under no circumstances and at no time was this great question ever brought forward here, and met in a manner so remarkably discreet as at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) When we remember all that has been said on slavery—when we remember the parties that cry has formed—the ministers—the ministries rather than that it has made—the public men that it has called into existence, who never would have been public men if they had not joined that public cry—I think the tone is rather remarkable with which that question is now discussed and is now met. (Hear, hear.) Far be it for me to suppose for a moment, or even to insinuate, that the first minister of the Crown, or the right honourable gentleman whom he succeeded, or any of their colleagues, are supporters of slavery. No one is a supporter of slavery—every one is filled with indignation at it. (Hear, hear.) But all or many seemed to be prepared to suppose that the evil is inevitable—that it can no longer be practically resisted; and that if it be a moral wrong, one thing is quite clear, that it is physically inevitable. (Hear, hear.) Now, Sir, the noble lord the first minister of the Crown has taken up what is considered safe ground on that subject. The noble lord cannot forget the party he represents, and claims it as his pride, and a justifiable pride, to lead. (Hear, hear.) He is the leader of the Whig party—the party who carried the abolition of slavery; the noble lord, who is a man of great spirit, would, I am sure, under no circumstances and for no consideration—to obtain no power—for no loss of office—forget the glorious heritage to which he succeeded. (Hear.) Well, Sir, if what England has done in this great question fail in efficacy—if it fails in completeness, I am not disposed to say that even a Whig minister, even the leader of the Whig party, may not be forced, by urgent economical considerations, to come before the senate of his country and solemnly inform the nation that they have made a great philanthropical error; that, however it redounds to their credit as men, it proves, perhaps, their ignorance as politicians. But, said the noble lord, it is not only that your estimate wants efficacy, but it wants completeness. You come here and you denounce slave-grown sugar, and yet you are at this moment,—the whole nation, the members of the Anti-slavery and Abolition Societies,—the whole people of England, are at this moment consuming slave-grown produce of another kind. Why here is mock morality, said the noble lord at the head of the Government. Mock morality! Is it come to this? Why, I ask the noble lord this—I ask him when Clarkson, and subsequently Wilberforce, addressed those districts in the north of England that originated the great movement against slavery—I ask him whether at that moment, when their thrilling words touched the hearts of a great nation, and when the horror of that traffic was first revealed to the pure convictions of the country—I ask him whether at that moment the fabrics of the north of England were not fed with cotton which was the production of slavery. (Hear, hear.) I ask whether the public men of that day—I do not care of what party—whether they did not address public meetings, whether they did not make exciting speeches to an almost unlettered people. I ask whether at this moment the people did not smoke, snuff, and chew, as they had done for 200 years before, slave-grown tobacco. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) Were the people of England not conscious of all this? Were the great statesmen that then existed not conscious of this? Of course they were. (Hear, hear.) But, practically, the people knew how to deal with the circumstances of the case; they met and they determined to put an end to an abomination which was within their control, and they shut their eyes to that which they could not control. But what answer had been given to the noble lord's (Lord G. Bentinck) third position? No sound argument had been put forth, but vain and fallacious and shallow sophisms. (Hear, hear.) You may carry this measure by a majority, but you cannot carry conviction with it to the minds of your supporters; you may give them words to address to their constituents on the subject, but from which they will recoil with nausea. The fact that Mr. Wilberforce was supported by men who used slave-grown cotton and slave-grown tobacco, is, it appears, to be put forward as an argument in 1846. (Hear, hear.) I come now to the question of commerce which has been opened to the House. The noble lord the other night expressed the opinion of Mr. Macgregor with all that placid meekness which characterizes him, and which was the same opinion which he stated in 1841, that a remarkable crisis had arisen, which he Mr. M. thought was fatal to the Anti-slavery proposition, if carried out to the extreme. The noble lord said that this opinion had long been entertained by Mr. M. and others. There could be no doubt of the reputation of Mr. M'Culloch, who was pensioned by one Prime Minister and praised by the other. (Cheers and laughter.) But what will the people of England think of such an authority? The circumstance I have just alluded to reminds me of a Turkish proverb, no doubt well known to my honourable friend the member for Bolton, for he is familiar with all languages, and acquainted with all nations. The proverb is "Fortunate is the peach which has the sun on both its sides." (Laughter.) Mr. M'Culloch is a specimen of this (great laughter)—this admirer of slave-trade—this avowed supporter of slavery. (Hear, hear.) It was the authority who had been brought in so admirably; but did it become the noble lord to do so? Mr. M'Culloch's authority was brought forward to control public feeling. It was M'Culloch versus Clarkson. (Hear, hear.) Slavery on that occasion kept in abeyance. Mr. M'Culloch, on that occasion, supplied the noble lord with some of his argument; but no one until I now mentioned it, was aware that Mr. M'Culloch was an avowed supporter of slavery. Well, Sir, under these circumstances I am bound to say I cannot agree with the noble lord in believing that these colonies are part of a vicious system. (Hear, hear.) I think that the argument which the Government have produced, with regard to the question of slavery—that that argument which has been brought forward with so much and such frequent ostentation, is an argument that cannot hold—that it is an argument which has

no foundation, and therefore I believe will ultimately be fruitful of no results. Why contrast the debate that is now going on with the debates that have taken place in this House for the abolition of slavery. (Hear, hear.) Your ministers of the Crown coming forward, and in the face of England acknowledging that they have been for forty years in error, and that they must terminate for ever the greatest effort that a people themselves had ever commenced for any object. (Hear, hear.) You yourselves acknowledge that fifty millions have been expended in this effort, and the very men who are coming forward and virtually telling you that the slave-trade baffles all your efforts—that it has increased and ended in the triumph of those whom you intended to overwhelm—and that you are now to become its tributaries—these are the men and ministers who announce that you have for the last forty years expended more than fifty millions. I ask you, as you are going to the hustings how you will explain that to the people? Will not the people say, why, what is that parliamentary Government of England worth, these men who tell us they have expended fifty millions only to effect a failure? (Hear, hear.) But when I see that the policy of England has always been to retrace its steps, I can have no doubt that it will retrace these steps in reconstructing the great industrial system which yourselves have so rashly, and under circumstances so peculiar, destroyed. (Hear, hear.) If that be an error, if this completion of a course which I believe and denounce as mischievous, be an error, this may be said of the people, that they have not participated in it: they did not send you here to destroy the colonial system of England (hear, hear); for you, therefore, remains all the glory, and under no circumstances can they experience the shame. (Loud cries of "hear, hear.") Sir, I would no longer trespass on the attention of the House did I not remember that there was one speech made in the course of the debate last night which I do not think ought to pass unnoticed. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Sir, we heard last night a funeral oration delivered over the abolition cause, by the noble lord, the member for Liverpool. I thought that if the subject were not choice, the orator at least was chosen. When I remembered another speech which that noble lord had made on the same subject, at a time not very remote, I must say that he was the last person from whom I could have expected any criticism on the resolution of my noble friend. Certainly the resolution of the noble lord, the member for Lynn, whatever may be its failings, if it has any, did not merit the prudential parenthesis in which it was alluded to in the speech of the noble lord. (Hear, hear.) I cannot take upon myself, whatever may be my private opinion, to presume to inform the House which is the authentic speech as regards the expression of the opinions of the noble lord. By courtesy, of course, his speech of last night should be so regarded; by unktion I should say his speech of 1841. Strange as are the changes which we have witnessed, I must say that to complete the wonders of this eventful session to see the noble lord, the member for Liverpool, mounted on a hog'shead of sugar, in a wide street, holding the taper of penitence, and crying "peccavi." (Laughter.) The noble lord at his last election, I remember, had carried before him a wooden Bible. (Laughter.) I am of opinion, Sir, that the speech of last night was the wooden Bible speech, and that the *litera vera* is still the speech of 1841. (Hear, hear, hear.) Notwithstanding the secedence from our ranks of the chosen champion of sugar protection and anti-slavery, we still thought we could do little in our good old ways against the measure of her Majesty's ministers, if we could reckon on the assistance of the right honourable baronet, the member for Tamworth. The right honourable gentleman has made a speech which appears to me an admirable *résumé* of every argument that could be adduced against the resolutions of the noble lord. No one understood the West Indian question better than the right honourable gentleman. There is not a detail connected with it which has not had his vigilant attention, and I am sure that the warning which he gave to the noble lord, that if he imported free labourers to the West Indian colonies there ought to be a sufficient quantity of females among them, will not be lost sight of. But, Sir, great was the mortification of myself and of my friends, when we found that that speech terminated by a resolution that was fatal to all our hopes. (Hear, hear.) But I must say that the reason which was given for the course taken by the right hon. gentleman was less ingenious and more surprising than most of the arguments which have come from him. The right honourable gentleman's opinions, expressed with so much ability, were all in favour of the value of our colonial empire, and of the importance of maintaining the interests of our colonies. And I ask, Sir, under such remarkable circumstances are these interests which we all must admit to be most important and extensive, to be sacrificed for such minute considerations as who shall sit on that bench? (Loud cries of "hear, hear.") I said a few minutes since, that if we go to the hustings and tell the people of England that 50,000,000 of their treasure have been expended in prosecuting a delusion, they might, perchance, have some misgiving as to the excellence of this parliamentary system under which they have been so long living; but when they are told that it is not a question of 50,000,000 yearly, but it may be 500,000,000 of countless treasure, of principles which they appreciate beyond all treasure—when they are told that these are to be given up by one of the most gifted of our assembly against his conviction, (loud cries of "hear, hear") for the sake of party convenience (renewed cheers), for the calculation who shall be the Minister of England, it will, I fear, be fatal to the Parliament of England. (Hear.) The right hon. gentleman told us indeed that he could not, under the circumstances of the case, act otherwise than he has done, because he could not see how a government could be formed if the noble lord and his ministry were obliged to leave office. I will not stop to notice the indecorous mode which has crept into this House, of always supposing that the government of this country is to be appointed and selected, not by one out of this House and in a higher station, but by the vote of a majority here (loud cries of "Hear, hear.") But this I will tell the right honourable gentleman, that in my mind his *forte* rather lies, not so much in framing a government, as in destroying it. (Cheers.) Sir, these are the views which I have imperfectly attempted to express, that have influenced my noble friend, and my honourable friends around me, in resisting the resolutions of her Majesty's Government. I am led to believe that there is not scarcely a member of that Government, that there

is not scarcely a member of this House, who can suppose that in the course we have taken we have been influenced by any illegitimate or sinister feelings. I think the noble lord, the member for the city of London, instead of resigning, might much more justly come forward and say, in case his resolutions were not adopted, I am opposed—but this is not a vital question; for when the right honourable gentleman the member for Tamworth and his ministry were opposed by the Parliament of England in 1830, on the sugar duty, he did not think fit to resign. (Hear.) The noble lord might have said that he had been called to power under peculiar circumstances, that he had received expressions of confidence from those who were opposed to him on great constitutional principles, and that the question which he put forward in a memorable speech did not in any degree compromise his opinions. He might have said, I am not anxious to disturb the public mind of England—I am not anxious to place ourselves in opposition to the quasi confidence of a party that, in numbers at least, is not to be despised; and he might have added, that in not resigning on this question, he but followed the example of a minister who, whether right or wrong, I will not say, has forfeited for ever the confidence of parliamentary England. (Hear, hear.) He might have said, considering these circumstances—considering that the right honourable gentleman himself, when in a similar position, did not think fit to resign—considering that there is in this House of Commons anything but evidence of an effective opposition—considering the position of the right honourable gentleman, the great influence which he has in this House, and the acts which have deprived him for ever of influence in the country—I think I am only doing my duty to my country and my sovereign, whatever may be our opinions on this question, by still remaining in power. I believe that if the noble lord had remained in office under such circumstances, he would have continued there with honour to his party, with credit to himself, and I would fain believe with advantage to the country. (Hear, hear.) But the course which the noble lord has taken left no option to us but to give an honest, a hearty, and a sincere opposition to his measure. (Hear, hear.) I call, then, on every member of this House who is meditating what vote he shall give on this occasion to decide with us. (Laughter.) I tell him, whatever may be the result, that of this I am certain, if the question be carried against us, it will give another, and, I hope, a last blow to the character of public men, and will be met by those out of the House who have sent us here with blended feelings of sorrow and indignation. (The honourable gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud cheers.)

LORD JOHN RUSSELL in reply defended the proposition on the ground of its social urgency, while the effect of the measure on the interests of the slave-trade would not be such as was anticipated by its opponents. Free labour would ultimately prove itself to be economically, as it was socially, the most beneficial to all concerned. Monopoly in any shape was adverse to the general interest; increase of competition was the cause of developing human enterprise, and it was his firm belief that the West Indies would rise, instead of sink, under the pressure to which the present measure would expose it. He was a warm advocate and supporter of the colonial system; but all the great changes which reason and truth had compelled in every department of our general policy had been not merely progressive, but permanent, and he did not doubt that the present measure would form one of the long list in the catalogue of removals of restrictions on religious, civil, and economical freedom. He could not remain at the head of the Government, if the resolution proposed by Lord George Bentinck were approved by a majority of the House; in that case the opinions of Parliament should be reflected by those who could conscientiously carry out the principle which it affirmed. For himself, he believed that it would neither conduce to the dignity of the crown, nor the honour of public men, that he should remain in office, crippled in his power of carrying out the principles of which he approved.

On a division there appeared—

For Lord G. Bentinck's Amendment 135
Against it 265

Majority in favour of the Government 130

LIBERTY BAZAAR, PHILADELPHIA.

Contributions of articles for sale in Philadelphia, the proceeds of which will be appropriated to the promotion of the abolition of slavery in the United States, may be sent as under any time before the first of the eleventh month (November) next.

BRISTOL..... Fanny Tribe, No. 9, Portland-street, Kingsdown.
BATH..... M. P. Blair, Bathwick Hill.
BIRMINGHAM..... Lydia Sturge, Edgbaston.
" Ann Goodrick, ditto.
LIVERPOOL..... Caroline Thompson.
LONDON..... Sarah Ann Alexander, Church Street, Stoke Newington.
" M. Merrington, 27, New Broad Street, BELGRAVE, near LEICESTER.. Priscilla Ellis.

For the information of those who are kindly disposed to contribute, it may be stated, that the following are some of the articles that would be very acceptable. Engravings of distinguished, religious, philanthropic or literary characters, drawings or models of their residences; simple implements, such as rulers or paper-folders, manufactured from articles belonging to them; autographs, new devices in worsted work, net worsted shawls, neck-ties, papier maché articles, purses, needle-books.

[We have been compelled in consequence of the length of our Parliamentary Report to omit our usual Colonial and Foreign Intelligence. Our subscribers will consider the importance of the debates an excuse for the omission of their contributions.]